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— *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti.* Vol. I-III. Complet. gr. 4. 1829-1858. 19 thlr.

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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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## PROCEEDINGS

OF

### THE FORTY-FIRST

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

*Held on the 30th May, 1864.*

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT STRANGFORD,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

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THE following Report of the Council was read by the Secretary :—

In submitting their annual Report to the General Meeting, the Council regret to state that several members have been lost to the Society by death and retirement since the last anniversary Meeting, and that the new admissions have not been proportionately numerous. In addition to one honorary and one corresponding member, seven resident and three non-resident members have been lost by death, and nine resident and six non-resident members have retired, whilst no more than eight resident and an equal number of non-resident members have joined the Society in the same period,\* so that the losses exceeded the accessions by nine.

\* *Elected.*—*Resident*: Sir John Low; D. Mackinlay, Esq.; W. Henty, Esq.; E. Deutsch, Esq.; C. Bruce, Esq.; the Earl St. Maur; C. J. D. Cole, Esq.; Rev. B. B. Haigh, D.D. *Non-Resident*: M. H. Scott, Esq.; Dr. A. J. Goldenblum; Colonel A. B. Kemball; Colonel F. J. Goldsmid; Dr. F. Dini; Count C. Marcolini; Count M. Amari; H. W. Dashwood, Esq.

*Retirements.*—*Resident*: T. Bazley, Esq., M.P.; R. Clarke, Esq.; W. G. Goodliffe, Esq.; J. Hutt, Esq.; M. Lewin, Esq.; E. S. Poole, Esq.; Lieut.-

Among the deceased members the Society has to lament the loss of the following distinguished names :

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM BINGHAM, LORD ASHBURTON, was the son of the well-known merchant prince Alexander Baring, who for many years represented the borough of Taunton, and was eventually raised to the peerage by Sir R. Peel. From the year 1826 till 1848, when on the death of his father he was summoned to the Upper House, Lord Ashburton was a member of the House of Commons, and a zealous supporter of Sir R. Peel, under whom he successively held the offices of a Secretary to the Board of Control, and of Paymaster of the Forces and Treasurer of the Navy. While as a practical philanthropist he was ever anxious to promote the social and moral improvement of the working classes, he possessed at the same time throughout his life a warm appreciation of everything relating to science and literature. He was elected a member of this Society in the year 1842, and in 1852 succeeded the Earl of Ellesmere as its president. In accepting the nomination tendered to him, he expressed the confident hope "of diffusing among others the deep interest he himself felt in everything that concerns the past history and future progress of a civilization altogether distinct in character and results from our own."

Ill health prevented Lord Ashburton from carrying out, in his official connection with the Society, all that he could have wished; but during the period in which he held the presidentship, he distinguished himself by the interest he took in every measure which was proposed tending to affect the purposes for which the Society was established. Lord Ashburton died on the 23rd of March, in the 65th year of his age.

Colonel Rigby; H. D. Seymour, Esq., M.P.; H. B. Sheridan, Esq., M.P.  
*Non-Resident*: J. Catefago, Esq.; J. H. Macalister, Esq.; Rev. W. Parry;  
Rev. Dr. Trumpp; Captain Langmore; Mons. A. Auer.

*Deaths.—Resident*: Lord Ashburton; B. Botfield, Esq., M.P.; W. Wayte, Esq.; E. Lawford, Esq.; T. C. Robertson, Esq.; G. E. Russell, Esq.; N. Smith, Esq. *Non-Resident*: Cursetjee Ardaseer, Esq.; F. H. Hale, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. T. E. Sampson. *Honorary*: Dr. J. R. Ballantyne. *Corresponding*: Rev. D. J. Gogerly.



Mr. BOTFIELD was born at Earls Ditton, in Shropshire, on the 5th March, 1807, and died at the age of 56 years. He was educated at Harrow, where his name will be remembered by "the Botfield medal for modern languages," competed for annually. From Harrow he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. In 1841 Mr. Botfield's name first appeared as an author in a quarto volume entitled, "Manners and Household Expenses of England in the 13th and 15th centuries, illustrated by original records," which he edited for the Roxburgh Club; and in 1849 he brought out his "Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England." In 1861 was published "Prefaces to the first editions of the Greek and Roman classics and of the Sacred Scriptures," collected and edited by Beriah Botfield, the result of many years' labour.

Numerous papers have been contributed by him to literary societies. Among others, "An account of the first English Bible;" "Catalogue of the principal book treasures delivered by George IV. to the British Museum;" "Some account of the collegiate library at Tring, in Shropshire," etc. He was a member of the O. T. Fund (in which he took especial interest), the Philobiblon, Maitland, and Spalding Clubs, and was treasurer of the Roxburgh Club. For many years Mr. Botfield represented Ludlow in parliament, and died member for that borough.

Early in life the subject of this obituary notice conceived the keenest admiration for rare and valuable books, and this bibliomania continued to the end of his life. He has formed an extensive and very valuable library at Norton, and is likely perhaps to be remembered longer as an earnest bibliographer and book-collector than as an author or editor of other men's works.

GEORGE EDWARD RUSSELL, the second son of Claud Russell, Esq., for many years Member of Council at Madras, was educated at Eton, and proceeded to India in 1802 as a member of the Madras Civil Service. His first employment after his arrival was as an assistant in the Government Se-

cretariat. At an early period, however, he quitted the capital to serve in the Provinces; and in 1812 he rose to be Collector and Magistrate of Masulipatam. In charge of that extensive and populous district he displayed such administrative ability, as gained for him the high approbation and confidence of the Government. In 1822 he was selected by the then Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, to fill a seat at the Board of Revenue; and two years later he was, by the same distinguished statesman, promoted to be First Member of that Board. In 1832 Mr. Russell officiated for a short time as Resident at the Court of H.H. the Rajah of Mysore.

In December of that year he was deputed as Special Commissioner to enquire into the causes which had led to serious disturbances in portions of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, and to take steps for their suppression. He was authorised to proclaim, if necessary, martial law throughout the country, and to carry into execution whatever other measures he might deem expedient or necessary in order to effect the object of his deputation; and so completely successful was he in the course he thought fit to follow, that by the middle of 1834 tranquillity was restored in every quarter, and a country, which had for some years been the cause of continual anxiety and trouble to the State, was reduced to perfect order and obedience.

In 1834 Mr. Russell was appointed by the Court of Directors to a seat in the Council of Madras.

In 1835 disturbances broke out in Goomsoor, and spread through a large portion of that immense tract of almost unexplored country, which is situated south of the Mahanuddy River and the south-west frontier of Bengal, and also borders on Berar, the Hyderabad country and the northern Sircars of the Presidency of Madras.

Although now, from the position he occupied in the Government, exempt in the usual course of things from all such extraordinary and *outlying* duties, it was at once felt both by the Governor in Council, and by the local Civil and Military authorities, that Mr. Russell was the only person through whom they could hope for success both in at once suppressing

the rebellion, and in ascertaining the causes which had led to it, and guarding against its recurrence.

Although the doing so involved a long and arduous campaign in an almost inaccessible and very unhealthy country, Mr. Russell at once agreed to undertake the duty, and accordingly proceeded, with a considerable military force, on a special mission to the north-eastern frontier. He found on his arrival there the whole country in a state of insurrection; but, in less than two years, he entirely quelled it. In Goomsoor Proper, in Goomsoor above the Ghauts, and amongst the turbulent tributary hill tribes of Khoonds, British authority was equally established and recognised; and the troops were withdrawn without fear or hesitation. It is amongst these latter people that human sacrifices (called *Meriah*) and female infanticide had been previously so long practised, and it was undoubtedly Mr. Russell's operations and reports that led to the measures subsequently taken for putting an end to those odious customs.

The Governor of Madras, in March, 1837, publicly noticed the suppression of these alarming outbreaks through Mr. Russell's exertions; pronounced the most unqualified approbation of his acts; and fairly admitted, that it was to his (Mr. Russell's) judgment, ability, energy, and firmness alone, that the successful result arrived at could be attributed. And, in a Minute in November of the same year, the above encomium was reiterated by the Government in, if possible, still higher terms.

In 1838, after a continuous and most useful service of 35 years, Mr. Russell retired from the service, carrying with him into private life the publicly expressed approval of every class of persons, whether at the Presidency or in the Provinces with which his duties had brought him into communication,—of all in fact with whom he had been, in any way, either officially or socially connected.

Mr. Russell died at his residence in Hyde Park Street, London, on the 20th October, 1863, in his 77th year.

JAMES R. BALLANTYNE, LL.D., was born at Kelso, on the



13th December, 1813. He received the rudiments of education at the Grammar School of that town, and afterwards went to the Edinburgh New Academy and Edinburgh College, where he began the study of oriental languages under Mr. Noble, which he further prosecuted under his uncle Colonel Michael, the Professor of Hindi, and Mr. Johnson, Sanskrit Professor at Haileybury. In those circumstances he acquired such an extended knowledge of eastern tongues as to qualify him to undertake the office of teacher, to which he was appointed in 1839 at the Naval and Military Academy in Edinburgh.

In 1844 he married Miss Robertson, and in the following year, on the recommendation of the late Professor Wilson, he was sent out to India by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as Principal of the College of Benares, at a time when the Indian Government had resolved on the creditable and successful experiment of adding English literature and science to the study of the Sanskrit language and Indian philosophy, which had been till then the exclusive objects of that renowned College. In this post Dr. Ballantyne continued till his return to England in 1861, when he was appointed librarian to the India Office Library in Cannon Row.

During his residence in India Dr. Ballantyne devoted himself especially to the study of the highest branches of Sanskrit ethical and philosophical literature, and he published a number of Sanskrit works on these subjects, together with lectures on the several systems of Indian philosophy, which have become text-books in the Benares College. He also published a series of most interesting papers on Hindu philosophy and logic (signed K) in the Benares Magazine. These papers began in the first number of that magazine, and are continued in almost every subsequent number; they would well repay republication in an independent volume.

His early death, which took place on the 16th February, has been felt as a great loss by students of eastern literature. It is understood that he has left much matter in MS. partly prepared for publication, but unfinished, which, it is hoped, may eventually find a competent editor.

By his second marriage with Miss Monk Mason, Dr. Ballantyne has left several children.

NOTE.—*List of his principal publications :—*

Hindustani Grammar.

— Selections.

Elements of Hindi and Braj Bhakha.

Mahratta Grammar.

The Laghu Kaumudī, with an English translation, and notes and references. Mirzapore.

The Mahābhāṣya, or Great Commentary on the aphorisms of Pāṇini. Vol. i., Mirzapore, 1856.

The aphorisms of the following schools of Hindu philosophy, with extracts from the commentaries, in Sanskrit and English :—

Kapila's Aphorisms of the Sāṅkhya, complete;

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Kaṇāda's Aphorisms of the Vaiśeṣika.

Lecture on the Nyāya Philosophy, embracing the text of the Tarka Sangraha. 1852.

Lecture on the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, embracing the text of the Tattva Samāsa. 1850.

Lecture on the Vedānta Philosophy, embracing the text of the Vedānta-sāra. 1850.

Lectures on the subdivisions of knowledge. Sanskrit and English, 3 parts. 1848, f.

Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy. London, 1859.

The Bhāṣā-parichcheda and Siddhānta-muktāvalī. Part 1. Calcutta, 1851.

He edited in the Bibliotheca Indica, an English translation of the Sāhitya Darpaṇa (incomplete), the Sāṅdilya Sūtras and a translation of the Sāṅkhya aphorisms of Kapila (only fasc. 1).

THE REV. DANIEL JOHN GOGERLY was born in London, in August 1792. After passing several years in general studies, and particularly in earnest preparation for the ministry, he proceeded to Ceylon, to take charge of the Wesleyan Mission Press at Colombo. From the time of his arrival, in 1818, he engaged in the study of the vernacular tongues, and was one of the first missionaries who preached extemporaneously in the Singhalese language. While at Negombo, where he was stationed from 1822 to 1834, he began the study of Pali, to the importance of which the

researches of Professors Burnouf and Lassen had at that period begun to draw the attention of oriental scholars. After his removal to Mathura he continued his studies under very favourable circumstances, the priests of that district being regarded as the most learned Pali scholars of the island. He employed native pandits to make copies of all the sacred books, separate parts of which are found in nearly all the temples, and thus succeeded in collecting a complete set of the Pitakattayam, which he has left as a legacy to the Wesleyan Mission.

Though repeatedly urged both by private individuals and public bodies to prepare for the press some standard work in illustration of the southern branch of Buddhism, Mr. Gogerly had not sufficient confidence in himself to undertake a work of such extent. His principal publications consist in essays and translations contributed to the pages of various local periodicals and the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he became in succession secretary, vice-president, and president. These papers are of inestimable value to the comparatively few oriental students who have access to them, as faithful records of ancient Pali treatises, of which neither translations nor printed editions existed before him, and which will long remain our only sources of information on certain chapters of the sacred literature of the Buddhists. Among them may be mentioned the extracts from the Vinaya (Journal Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i., part 1; vol. ii., parts 1 and 3; vol. iv., part 1); the translation of the Brahmajālasutta and Subhasutta (*ib.* vol. i., part 2), which invites comparison with Burnouf's translation of part of the former, and the whole of the latter discourse from a Nepal source; the translation of a portion of the Jātaka, or legendary account of the 550 transmigrations of Gotama previous to his becoming Buddha (*ib.* vol. i. part 3); the Pāṭimokkha, on the laws of the priesthood, republished from "The Friend" (vol. iii.), in the last volume of our Journal; and the Dhammapada, or Footsteps of Religion (*ib.* vol. iv.), of which work an edition and two other translations, independent of Mr. Gogerly's, have

since appeared. Besides these, he added a valuable article, entitled "Notes on Buddhism," to a new translation of Ribeyro's History of Ceylon, and rendered considerable assistance to Sir Emerson Tennent in the preparation of his work on Ceylon.

More immediately connected with his missionary labours was the leading part he took in the revision of the Singhalese version of the Holy Scriptures, and the publication of a most carefully written work in Singhalese, called *Kristiyāni Prajnapti*, on the evidences and doctrines of the Christian Religion. His greatest literary performance, however, is left in MS., a Dictionary of the Pali language; he had begun to compile it while at Mathura, and continued adding to it constantly as his reading became more extensive, so that at the time of his death it contained 15000 words. It is most desirable that this monument of more than 25 years' patient industry may soon meet with that patronage, without which it may possibly remain in MS. yet many a long year.

After Mr. Gogerly had taken up his residence at Colombo, first as chairman of the Wesleyan mission, and subsequently as its general superintendent, his sphere of usefulness became more extensive, his vast experience and knowledge were turned to account by the Government of that island in various branches of its administration, especially in connection with vernacular education, and his suggestions were invariably received with deference by his associates in office. He died at the Wesleyan Mission House, Colpetty, near Colombo, on the 6th of September, 1862.

In the words of the Rev. R. Spence Hardy, "In him oriental literature lost one of its most successful students, and the island of Ceylon one of its greatest benefactors."

THOMAS CAMPBELL ROBERTSON seems to have been born in the year 1789, and was the son of Capt. Robertson, R.N., descended from a good Scottish family. After his education, first at the High School in Edinburgh, and subsequently at the University of Glasgow, Mr. Robertson was appointed in 1805 a writer on the Bengal establishment, but did not reach

Calcutta till Dec. 1806. From the year of his quitting the College, in 1809, he filled various subordinate situations till 1820, when he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpore. In April, 1825, he was appointed agent to the Governor-general in Arracan, and in August of that year he was deputed Civil Commissioner in Ava, during the first Burmese war; and it was mainly through his exertions that peace was re-established between the King and the British Government. In 1827, Mr. Robertson came to England, and returned to Bengal in October, 1830. In December of that year he was appointed Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit at Bareilly, and in 1831, agent to the Governor-general on the north-east frontier of Bengal, and Commissioner of Assam. In 1834, he was made Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in Cuttack, and in 1835, Judge of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut. In 1836 he was appointed provisional member of Council, and in 1838, second ordinary member. In 1839 or 1840, he was appointed Governor of the North-western Provinces, residing at Agra. This was an anxious period for Mr. Robertson, as the war was raging in Affghanistan, and the new Governor-general had not yet arrived in India. Finally, Mr. Robertson retired from the service, and returned to England in 1843. Mr. Robertson was gifted with high talents and with an energetic character, which particularly qualified him for public business; though on some points connected with our Indian administration his views and opinions materially differed from those of many distinguished contemporaries. He was no great admirer of Utilitarian principles, and regarded with great distrust, and even alarm, those sweeping territorial arrangements which disturbed the long-cherished usages of the village communities, and deprived hundreds of families of their possessions. Such measures as the resumption of the rent-free tenures, or the systematic abolition of the Talookdars, could never find an advocate in Mr. Robertson. Throughout his official career, he was peculiarly tender of the rights and privileges of the natives; and it was, perhaps, the very fact of his knowing the fondness with which they clung to their ancient manners



and customs, and their rooted aversion from all changes, however introduced under the specious designation of improvements, that disposed him rather to be "*laudator temporis acti*" than to look on the march of innovation with complacency. For several years previous to Mr. Robertson's arrival at Cawnpore, there seems to have been a very lax administration in the Civil Court as well as in the collector's kutcherry. The native officers enjoyed unusual licence, so much so, that they had been enabled to gain possession of large tracts of land in various parts of the district. By means of fraudulent sales, on account of pretended arrears of revenue, they contrived to get the Zemindars ousted from their estates, and to have the names of their own friends and relatives substituted in the collector's books. Mr. Robertson's attention was drawn to this circumstance by the Zemindars themselves, who loudly complained, and he would fain have done them justice, but he soon perceived that the mischief was too gigantic to be repaired by ordinary process in a civil Court; and finding himself, moreover, opposed to the Judges of the Court of Appeal, who viewed the matter in a different light, he submitted the case to the notice of Government. A special commission was then appointed for the strict investigation of the claims preferred by the Zemindars, and these much-injured men did eventually obtain redress, though not in proportion to the wrongs they had suffered; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that it was entirely due to Mr. Robertson's strenuous exertions that they got any redress at all. After his return to England, Mr. Robertson published several pamphlets on Indian affairs, as well as a small work on Burmah. But we must refrain from all remarks on the merits of these productions, in order that our brief memoir may not attain an inconvenient size. Mr. Robertson had been all his life fond of books; indeed he never permitted his mind to lie fallow. He taught himself Italian, and was a considerable proficient in that language. It was his constant habit at Cawnpore to read a portion of Tasso, Dante, or Ariosto before breakfast. As a further proof of his ardour for literary pursuits, he subsequently took up the Latin classics, a study which, in all

probability, he had neglected from the time of his quitting school. From his early boyhood he had to contend with the great disadvantage of deafness, which increased as he advanced in life; indeed he has been known to say that he had never heard the birds sing. It is remarkable, however, that this defect, which so frequently gives an air of dullness and apathy to persons afflicted with it, did not prevent Mr. Robertson from taking an interest in what was passing around him. His conversation was varied and animated, for nobody knew better how to apply the resources with which his retentive mind was stored; and this, combined with a naturally courteous and pleasant manner, rendered him a charming member of society. In private life he was of a mild and amiable disposition. To his immediate relatives he was most kind and affectionate, and he received his old and intimate friends with a warmth of greeting which was never assumed, but real, and from the heart. Mr. Robertson was twice married—first, to the eldest daughter of the late Hon. John Elliot, by whom he leaves behind him two sons and a daughter; secondly, to Miss Anderdon, who survives him. He died in July, 1863, at the age of 74, at his residence, 68, Eaton Square.

At the last three anniversaries the Council had to report on the steps they had taken to promote the efficiency of the Society as a literary body, and at the same time to effect a considerable saving in its annual expenditure; for which purpose two schemes had at different times been framed and brought under the notice of Sir Charles Wood. The one was that the library formerly belonging to the East India Company should, under conditions to be specially negotiated, be transferred to the Royal Asiatic Society; and the other, that accommodation should be given to the Society for its Library and the transaction of its current business at the new India Office. The second of these propositions was lately revived by the Council under circumstances that were considered favourable,—viz., the building of a new India Office; and a Committee was appointed to negotiate with the Secretary



of State for India for the purpose of obtaining that accommodation. From private communications, however, which they had with Sir C. Wood on the subject, it appeared that strong objections were entertained by him to the carrying out of that project; and the Committee therefore recommended the Council to make no further move in the matter. In bringing this result to the notice of the Society, the Council desire to place these facts on record as a proof that they have not been unmindful of their duty in devising means tending to promote its welfare.

Among the donations to the Library the Council have to record in the first place the opening volume of Mr. Lane's Arabic Lexicon, the publication of which was mentioned in terms of well-merited praise in last year's report; and secondly, two volumes of Inscriptions published by order of the trustees of the British Museum. The first of these volumes contains facsimiles of 42 Himyaritic Inscriptions, all of which with the exception of five, were obtained in southern Arabia in the course of the year 1862. They are not accompanied with a transcript in Arabic or a translation; but we may hope ere long to receive a full and exhaustive essay on their contents from the pen of a competent scholar, Dr. Osiandar whose preliminary notice of them has been in the hands of orientalists for some time. The new materials thus added to the scanty fragments, on which the decipherers of Himyaratic records have hitherto had to work, will go far to rectify and more fully establish the results of their discoveries. The second volume contains facsimiles of Phœnician Inscriptions discovered by Mr. Nathan Davis during researches made in the years 1856-8, on the site of ancient Carthage, at the expense of her Majesty's Government. They are far more copious than any purely Carthaginian inscriptions before published, and have thus afforded "means for a complete collation and determination of all the Phœnician characters in use along the northern shores of Africa, and set at rest any doubts as to the true value of the ordinary Phœnician letters. In fact, they will form a standard of reference for the determination of any

inscriptions that may hereafter be discovered." Mr. Vaux, the editor, has contributed materially to the utility of these palæographic memorials by his addition of a transcript in Hebrew characters, a literal translation into English and occasional notes.

The last portion of vol. xx. of the Society's Journal has been in your hands for some time. The articles contained in it, extending as they do over that wide range of oriental research for the prosecution of which this Society was constituted, are fully calculated to prove the usefulness, and sustain the reputation, of our Society.

Arrangements having been made, as was mentioned in last year's report, with the firm of Trübner and Co., of Paternoster Row, for the publication of the Journal, the 20th volume of which is now completed, the Council propose to commence a new series.

A full Index to the first series, the compilation of which has been entrusted to a competent and conscientious scholar, will be issued so soon as the publishers shall have received a sufficient number of subscriptions to guarantee them against loss.

The first half-volume of the new series will be out in the course of July. Of the more important papers about to appear in it, particular interest will be found to attach to an all but exhaustive essay by Mr. J. Muir, D.C.L. and LL.D., on the oldest phase of Hindu Mythology and Cosmogony, as represented in the Vedas; to a chronological paper by Mr. Bosanquet, in which he endeavours to prove that Ussher's Biblical Chronology must be lowered to the extent of exactly 23 years, in order to place it in accordance with the Assyrian canon of Sir H. Rawlinson; and to a dissertation on, and explanation of, certain clay tablets from Nineveh in the British Museum, which in addition to the cuneiform legends, have also upon them inscriptions in the Phœnician character and language. A special interest will be found in the investigation from the circumstance that, the Phœnician character and language being already known, a strong corroboration will be afforded to the genuineness of cuneiform

interpretation by its agreement with the subject of the Phœnician legends connected with them.

Among further contributions, one branch of oriental studies will be represented again which has remained a blank in the pages of our Journal for many years,—the languages and literature of the Malays, Javanese, and other tribes inhabiting the Indian Archipelago. The valuable researches of Dr. Leyden, W. Marsden, W. Robinson, Sir H. Raffles, J. Crawford, and Captain Newbold are too well known to be dwelt upon in detail; but they belong to the past: and though we have in this house an unique collection of Malay and Javanese MSS., and though it is in British territory and in countries under English influence, political as well as commercial, that the best Malay is spoken, we have for the last 30 years been content to resign those advantages to the Dutch, who have not been slow in turning them to account. The contributions to our Journal promised us from Holland may perhaps tend also in this country to revive and challenge literary activity in those long neglected and little trodden paths.

The Council have the pleasure of stating, from information that has lately reached this country from Shanghai, that arrangements have been made to re-establish the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. That Society was formed at Shanghai in 1857 under the name of the Shanghai Literary Society; and the request of its members to be affiliated to this Society was responded to at the anniversary meeting of the latter in May, 1858. In its Journal, four parts of which were published up to the year 1860, most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Chinese and Japanese antiquities, literature and topography are contained. But, as has been the case with many other literary associations in the East, whose life and existence too exclusively depended on the activity and zeal of one or two of their most eminent promoters, a period of inaction succeeded, owing to the death or temporary absence of its leading members. It is a matter of congratulation that the Shanghai Branch Society is about to resume its useful labours with renewed vigour, and the

Council trust that they may have ere long to record a similar revival on the part of its sister Society of Hong-Kong.

#### REPORT OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND COMMITTEE.

The Oriental Translation Fund Committee, considering that the state of their funds do not admit of their adding to the number of their publications and thus satisfying the legitimate expectations of their subscribers, have resolved that no further subscriptions shall be called in. With the funds in hand they propose to continue and complete, as speedily as practicable, the translation of Ibn Khallikan by the Baron De Slane, one volume and a half of which remain unpublished. As to the disposal of the Society's stock, the wishes of the actual subscribers will be consulted.

#### AUDITORS' REPORT.

Your Auditors have to report that they have found the Society's Accounts for the year 1863 correct.

The expenses for the year have been somewhat larger in amount than the receipts; but, as the Society's printing bill is confidently expected to be lower in future,—as the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce have still a balance in their hands so as not to require any further advances, and as the repairs of the Society's house only occur at intervals,—there is every prospect that the receipts of the current year will completely balance the expenditure; so that the necessity will not arise to trench upon the Society's funded reserve, which remains, as before, at the sum of £1,200 Consols.

J. W. BOSANQUET, *Auditor for the Council.*  
HENRY LEWIS, }  
J. W. REDHOUSE, } *Auditors for the Society.*

LONDON, *May*, 1864.



In conformity with Articles XX. and XXI. of the regulations, the Council have now to propose to the meeting the election of a new President, two Vice-presidents, and five Members of the Council.

The following gentlemen will cease to be Members of the Council :—James Fergusson, Esq. ; Prof. Goldstücker ; J. C. Marshman, Esq. ; P. B. Smollett, Esq., M.P. ; and Dr. J. Forbes Watson. In whose stead it is proposed to substitute the following :—The Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie ; Sir Charles Nicholson ; John Dickinson, Esq. ; W. Spottiswoode, Esq. ; and N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.

The President then rose and addressed the Meeting in brief and forcible terms on the present state and future prospects of the Society. Drawing a comparison between the time when the Asiatic Society, in its interests and associations, was closely connected with the East India Company, and the present moment when, by the dissolution of that body, it has to do its best by itself without support, he laid particular stress on the fact that the Society now must stand and fall by its Journal as the standard of its literary activity and usefulness. India must, as heretofore, continue to occupy a large and perhaps a disproportionate share of the attention of the Society, which might take a pattern from the useful and comprehensive review of the Hindustani press of India, with which Professor G. de Tassy annually opens his course of lectures, and extend it to other subjects and to the rest of the vast continent from which it derives its name. His Lordship remarked that in fact arrangements had already been made for publishing in the Journal summary notices of the progress of the different branches of investigation to which the labours of the Society are directed. Several of these reports, such as that on recent researches on the ethnology of Asia, and those on Asiatic geology and natural history, had been sent in by those members to whom the task of drawing them up had been entrusted ; others, as that on Chinese literature, and on recent Sanskrit publications, were shortly expected, and the rest would soon follow. Mentioning, in conclusion, the

changes that had taken place in the staff of the Society, he said he could not speak too highly of the past services of Mr. Redhouse, to whom, while he held the office of Secretary to the Society, one never applied in vain for information on every subject connected with the languages and literature of the Muhammedan nations; and he trusted that his successor in that office, Dr. Rost, who was more a Hindu than a Muhammedan, would do the Society equally good service in that branch of oriental studies to which he had paid particular attention.

It was then moved by CAPTAIN EASTWICK, seconded by A. RUSSELL, Esq., M.P., and unanimously carried:

"That the Report of the Council, as also that of the Auditors and of the Oriental Translation Fund Committee, be accepted, printed, and circulated; and that the thanks of the meeting be tendered to the President, Director, Vice-Presidents, and other officers of the Society, for the zealous and efficient manner in which they have forwarded the interests of the Society during the past year."

The Ballot for the Officers and Council of the Society for the ensuing year was then proceeded with, and M. P. Edgeworth, Esq., and T. Ogilvy, Esq., having been requested to act as Scrutineers, the result was declared as follows:

*President*—Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.

*Director*—Major-Gen. Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.

*Vice-Presidents*—Viscount Strangford and H. T. Prinsep, Esq.

*Treasurer*—Edward Thomas, Esq.

*Honorary Secretary and Librarian*—Edwin Norris, Esq.

*Secretary*—Reinhold Rost, Ph. D.

*Council*—N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.; J. W. Bosanquet, Esq.; Sir J. F. Davis, Bart., K.C.B.; J. Dickinson, Esq.; M. P. Edgeworth, Esq.; C. C. Graham, Esq.; F. E. Hall, Esq.; Sir F. Halliday, K.C.B.; the Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie; Sir C. Nicholson, Bart.; T. Ogilvy, Esq.; O. de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq.; E. C. Ravenshaw, Esq.; W. Spottiswoode, Esq.; Major-Gen. Sir A. S. Waugh, C.B.

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, the new President, having been introduced to the meeting by Lord Strangford, briefly returned thanks for his election.

The Chairman then declared the Meeting adjourned till the evening of Monday, the 6th of June.

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ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER, 1863.

[illegible]

we have carefully examined the above account with the vouchers, and find it correct.

J. W. BOSANQUET,  
HENRY LEWIS,  
J. W. REDHOUSE.

May 21, 1864.

Amount of Society's Fund,	...	£1,200.
Three per cent. Consols	...	...

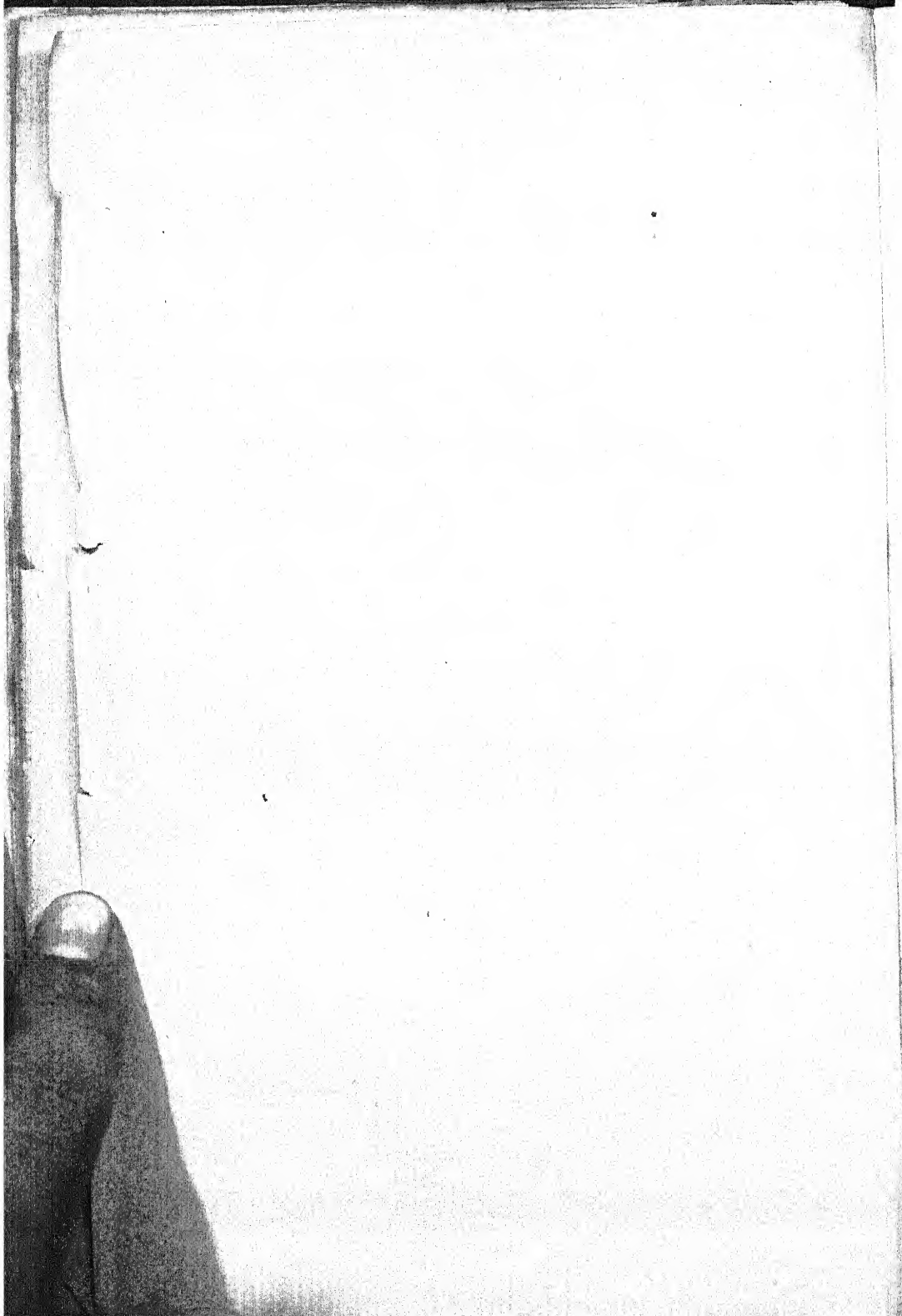


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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. I.—*Vajra-chhediká, the “Kin Kong King,” or Diamond Sūtra.* Translated from the Chinese by the Rev. S. BEAL, Chaplain, R.N.

[Presented December, 1863].

True words (Dhāraṇī) to be used for cleansing the mouth previous to a perusal of this work.

Seou-li Seou-li . . . . .	[Śrī Śrī.]
Ma-ha Seou-li . . . . .	[Mahā Śrī.]
Seou-seou-li . . . . .	[Sau Śrī.]
Sah-po-ho . . . . .	[Svah.]

True words (Dhāraṇī) (fit for) the pure condition of Being.  
Om! Lam!

Afterwards follow eight invocations to the different Vajras.

THIS work belongs to a class of Buddhist books called Prajñā Pāramitā. It was translated first into the Chinese by Kumāra-jīva (A.D. 405), who was brought into China from Thibet. “The King of Tsin had sent an army into that country with directions not to return without the Indian whose fame had spread amongst all the neighbouring nations. The former translations of Buddhist works were to a great extent erroneous. To produce them in a form more accurate and complete was the task undertaken by Kumāra-jīva. More than eight hundred priests were called to assist him; and the king himself, an ardent disciple of the new faith, was present at the conference, holding the old copies in his hand as the work of correction proceeded. More than three hundred volumes were thus prepared.” (Edkins).

Most of these works were afterwards re-translated by Hiouen Tshang: his version, however, of the work we are now considering is not so commonly used in China as that by Kumára-jíva.

A translation of this Sútra from the Mongolian has been published by M. Schmidt. I have not had an opportunity of comparing it with the Chinese.

The work is divided into thirty-two sections, each of which has a distinct title and subject of discussion.

*Cap. I. relates the circumstances under which the religious assembly was convoked, and from that shows how the discussion arose.*

Thus have I heard.<sup>1</sup> Upon a certain occasion Buddha was residing in the city (country) of Śrávastí, occupying the garden which Gida,<sup>2</sup> the heir-apparent, had bestowed on the compassionate (Sudana).

Here, then, was Buddha, surrounded by all the multitude of the great Bhikshus (religious mendicants, the general title of Buddha's followers), 1250 in number. Then the world-honoured one, it being now the time of providing food, having put on his robe, and taken his alms-bowl, entered the great city of Śrávastí, for the purpose of begging a supply.

Having gone in order through the midst of the city, begging food in a regular manner, he now returned to his former retreat, where, having eaten the food he had received as alms, and having laid aside his robe and alms-bowl, he washed his feet, and then, arranging his seat, he sat down.

*Cap. II. contains the respectful request of the aged Subhúti.<sup>3</sup>*

At this time the distinguished and venerable Subhúti sat in

<sup>1</sup> This is the well-known phrase, "evam mayá śrutam," concerning which Bournouf has a note (Lotus, p. 286). I will observe here that the phrase in question was probably introduced by the compilers of the Buddhist Sútras in order to give these writings the same degree of sanctity which belongs to the Bráhmaṇas and Mantras, as forming the "Śruti," or Sacred Revelation of the followers of the Vedas.—*Vide* Max Müller, Hist. of Sansc. Lit., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this garden, *vide* S. Hardy, M. of Bud., p. 218. [Hardy gives the name of the prince as "Jeta," and the garden is called "Jeta-vana." Bournouf Int. 22.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Subhúti is in Chinese "Virtuous presence."



the midst of the assembly. Then rising forthwith from his seat, he uncovered his right shoulder, and with his right knee knelt on the ground; then closing together the palms of his hands, and raising them in a respectful manner to Buddha, he spoke thus: Oh! much-desired! world-honoured one! Tathágata ever regards and illustriously protects all the Bodhisatwas! he ever rightly instructs them!

World-honoured one! if a virtuous disciple, male or female, aspire after (the attainment of) the "unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart,"<sup>1</sup> say on what ought that disciple to fix his reliance, say how ought that disciple to repress and subdue the evil emotions of this sinful heart.<sup>2</sup>

Buddha said: Good! good! (sádhu). Subhúti! it is as you say. Tathágata is ever mindful of and illustriously defends all the Bodhisatwas, and he ever instructs them in right. You therefore listen now and examine well what, for your sake, I declare. The worthy disciple, whether male or female, who aspires after the attainment of the perfectly just, unsurpassed, and enlightened heart, ought to rely on what I shall now explain, ought to subdue the risings of his corrupt heart in the way I shall now exhibit!

Ah! yes, world-honoured one! would that you would so far gratify us all, anxious to hear.

*Cap. III. exhibits the true distinctive character of the Great Vehicle.*

Buddha said: Subhúti, all the Bodhisatwas and great Bodhisatwas ought thus to subdue and repress the risings of this corrupt heart. Whatever species of creature there be, whether oviparous or viviparous, born from spawn or by transformation, possessing a material form or not, liable to the laws of mind or not, not altogether possessed of mental organization nor yet entirely without it—all these I command and exhort to enter on the state of the unsurpassed Nirvána (Pari nirvána<sup>3</sup>) and for ever to free themselves from the conditions of being to which they severally belong. The great

<sup>1</sup> Anuttara samyak sambodhi hridaya.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Julien ii. 390.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the natural heart.

family of sentient beings, immeasurable, vast, numberless, being thus freed from such states of existence, then indeed there will be no longer any such beings to arrive at this position of perfect freedom.

I conclude, therefore, Subhúti, if there be a Bodhisatwa affected with any selfish distinction, or any social distinction,<sup>1</sup> or any distinction as a sentient being, or any distinction as a finite and perishable being, then this Bodhisatwa is not one in reality.

*Cap. IV.—The characteristic of the most perfect line of conduct, is, that it is spontaneous.*

Moreover, Subhúti, a Bodhisatwa in the active discharge of his functions ought to be without any object of reliance or desire (*i.e.*, unaffected by any secondary object in the discharge of his chief business). When occupied, for instance, in attending to the work of charity—his ought to be that charity which is called "unmixed with any material consideration"—he ought to distribute his alms without relying on (or, having any reference to) any sensible gratification, whether it be of sound, or odour, or taste, or touch, or thought.

Subhúti, a Bodhisatwa ought thus to discharge the work of almsgiving, relying on no sensible distinction whatever. What then! if a Bodhisatwa be thus charitable, having no reliance or reference, his consequent happiness must be immeasurable and boundless. Subhúti! what think you? Can the eastern region of space be measured by a line?

No, certainly, world-honoured one!

Subhúti, can the western, or southern, or northern regions of space be measured? or the four midway regions of space (*i.e.*, N.E., S.E., S.W., N.W.), or the upper and lower regions: can either of these be accurately measured or defined?

<sup>1</sup> These four distinctions (*lakṣaṇa*) are constantly referred to in this Sūtra as the "four Canons," or "Rules." The idea seems to be this: if a man so destroy all marks of his individual character as to act without any reference to himself, or men, or other states of being, or continuance in the condition of a living creature, then he has arrived at the desired state of non-individuality, and must be lost in the ocean of Universal Life. This is the *Pari nirvāṇa*, the condition of absolute rest—the desired repose of the Buddhist disciple.

No, certainly, world-honoured one!

Subhúti, the consequent happiness of the Bodhisatwa, who discharges his charitable impulses in the distribution of alms without any reliance or secondary object whatever: his happiness, I say, is likewise boundless and immeasurable. Subhúti, a Bodhisatwa ought to rely on nothing whatever, except this principle of my doctrine.

*Cap. V.—Regarding only the immaterial principle, we behold things in their true light.*

Subhúti, what is your opinion? Is it possible by any bodily distinction to behold Tathágata?

No, certainly not! world-honoured one! it is not possible to obtain a view of Tathágata by the medium of any bodily distinction or quality whatever. What then? That which Tathágata speaks of as a quality of the body, is after all a quality of that which is no real body (and therefore itself unreal).

Buddha said: Subhúti, all that which has qualities or distinctions, all this is empty and unreal; but if a man beholds all these qualities as indeed no qualities, then he can at once behold Tathágata.

*Cap. VI.—The precious character of true faith.*

Subhúti now addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one! with reference to the mass of sentient beings who may hereafter be privileged to hear the words contained in the former sections: will these words produce in them a true faith?

Buddha said: Subhúti, speak not after this manner. (For) after the Nirvána of Tathágata, though five hundred years be elapsed, should there be one who, by keeping the moral precepts, prepares himself for the happiness consequent on such conduct, that man no doubt by these former sections of my doctrine will be able to arrive at a true faith. Supposing such a man to have truly arrived at this condition, you should know that the seeds of virtue which have been sown in his mind were

implanted not by one Buddha, or even two or three, or four or five, but having these seeds of virtue sown within him by the teaching of countless thousands of Buddhas, and then hearing these sections, reflecting but a moment, the true faith dawns on his heart. Subhúti! Tathágata knows entirely, and entirely perceives, that all this mass of sentient beings shall obtain (in the manner I have described) immeasurable felicity. And why so? but because they will thus be freed from all selfish distinctions and worldly desires, and distinctions as perishable beings, and distinctions as finite beings; they will have no distinction either as beings possessed of mental organization, nor as beings without such an organization. What then? All this mass of sentient existences, if their heart be possessed of any such distinction, they immediately place their dependence on some object agreeable to this distinction; or, if they be possessed of any such mental distinction, what is this but coming under the same necessity? And more than this, if they take hold of the fact of their having no distinction as a mentally-constituted being, they then also bring themselves under the same necessity of dependence. So (it is the case that) we should neither rely on anything real or unreal (literally, on that which is a law or on that which is not a law). Tathágata has ever spoken thus: "Ye Bhikshus, know ye well that my law is as it were but a raft to help you across the stream. The law, then, must be forsaken; how much more that which is no law!"

*Cap. VII.—The state of perfection cannot be said to be obtained, nor can it be described by words.*

Subhúti, what think you? Has Tathágata obtained the condition of the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart? Or has Tathágata any law which can be put into words by which this state may be attained?

Subhúti answered and said: As I understand the system which Buddha is now explaining, there can be no fixed and unchangeable law (*i.e.*, condition), as that which is called the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart; and so there can be no fixed law which can be expressed in words by Tathágata.



Hence it seems that the various systems which have been explained by Tathágata can none of them be comprehended within fixed limits, or dogmatically explained; they cannot be spoken of as, "not a system of law," nor yet as the opposite of that which is "not a system."

So it appears that all the sages and wise men who have lived, have all adopted this mode of diffusive doctrine [doctrine which admits of no particular distinction (wou-wei)], and hence the differences which have occurred.

*Cap. VIII.—All former systems whatever have sprung from this.*

Subhúti! what think you, if there was a man who distributed in alms sufficient of the seven precious substances to fill the whole of the great chiliocosm, would his merit and consequent reward be considerable or not?

Subhúti said: Very considerable indeed, world-honoured one! But why so? this merit being in its very character of the nature of that which is no merit at all, so Tathágata speaks of it as being "much."

(Buddha resumed): If there be a man who receives and adopts the principles of this Sútra up to the point of the four sections,<sup>1</sup> I say on that man's behalf, that his merit is much greater than the other's. What then, Subhúti? all the Buddhas, and all the perfect laws of the Buddhas, have sprung from (the principles of) this one Sútra; but, Subhúti, that which is spoken of as the law of Buddha, is after all not such a law (or, is a law of no-Buddha).

*Cap. IX.—The only true distinction is that which is not to be distinguished.*

Subhúti, what think you? is the Śrotápati able to reflect thus with himself: "I shall now obtain the fruit of having entered this first path of a Śrotápati?"

Subhúti said: No, world-honoured one! And why? this word Śrotápati is a mere phrase, which signifies "once entered the stream," and after all there is nothing to enter; for

<sup>1</sup> That is, the four rules of non-individuality.—*Vide ante*, cap. iii.

he cannot enter on that which comes under the category of form, or sound, or odour, or taste, or touch, or thought. This term, then, Śrotāpatti, is a mere word, and no more.

Subhūti, what think you? is the Sakṛid-āgāmī able to reflect thus with himself: "I shall now obtain the fruit of having entered on this second path of a Sakṛid-āgāmī?"

Subhūti replied: No, world-honoured one! And why? this word Sakṛid-āgāmī signifies "one more return to life," and there is in truth no going or returning. This term, then, is but a mere name, and no more.

Subhūti, what do you think? is the Anāgāmī able to reflect thus with himself: "I shall now obtain the reward of having entered the third path of an Anāgāmī?"

No, certainly not! Subhūti said; for why? world-honoured one! this term Anāgāmī is but a word signifying "no further return," and there is not in truth such a thing as "not returning." This word, therefore, of Anāgāmī, is but a mere name, and nothing more.

Subhūti! what think you? can an Arhat reflect thus with himself: "I shall now obtain the condition of a Rahat?"

Subhūti said: No, world-honoured one! And why? Because there being no longer any active principle which can affect the Rahat, this name of Rahat is now only an empty word. World-honoured one! if a Rahat were to indulge this thought, "I shall now obtain the position of a Rahat," then he would immediately subject himself to one of the four distinctive characters of individuality (and be no longer a Rahat). World-honoured one! when Buddha declared that I should attain the power of Samādhi,<sup>1</sup> which is opposed to all bitterness, and is accounted the most excellent attainment, and corresponds to the most exalted position of a Rahat, world-honoured one, I did not then reflect that I should obtain this eminent condition. World-honoured one! if I had so reflected "that now I shall attain the position of a Rahat," the world-honoured one would not then have said, "Subhūti, what is this but the name of the one who

<sup>1</sup> The latter portion of this cap. is very obscure. I offer this translation with diffidence.—S. B.

delights in the mortification of an Aranyaka (forest devotee)," regarding "Subhúti" as in truth not acting at all, but as a mere name, then (in such forgetfulness of self) "he is one who delights in self-mortification."

*Cap. X.—Complete perfection lies in the heart purified and enlightened.*

Buddha addressed Subhúti thus: How think you, when Tathágata in old times was present at his nomination by Dípankara Buddha; had he then, by means of any active exertion, attained ought towards this distinction? No! world-honoured one! when Tathágata lived in the time of Dípankara Buddha, and was present at the transaction referred to, he had attained nothing by any mere ritual observance. Subhúti, what think you? are the various lands and territories of the Buddhas completely perfected by the Bodhisatwas who occupy them? No! world-honoured one! for this complete perfection of which we speak is after all no perfection at all, it is only an empty name.

So, Subhúti, all the Bodhisatwas and great Bodhisatwas ought to strive after the possession of a heart perfectly pure and spotless, and not after any material or sensible adornment; or a heart depending on such adornment; whether it be of sound, or odour, or taste, or touch, or thought, they ought to have no such dependence as this, and being without reliance, to make their dependence on the fact of their being so. Subhúti! suppose for instance there was a man whose body was as large as the Royal Summeru. What do you suppose—would such a body be a large one or not?

Subhúti replied: Very great indeed, world-honoured one! But what then? Buddha is speaking of that body which is the opposite to the material body, that, indeed, may well be named Great.

*Cap. XI.—The inestimable excellence of complete inaction (or complete indifference in action).*

Subhúti, suppose there were as many Rivers Ganges as

the sands of the Ganges, would the sands of all these rivers be numerous or not?

Subhúti said: Very numerous indeed, world-honoured one! Even the rivers themselves would be numberless, how much more the sands of all these rivers?

Subhúti, I now say to you: Verily if there be a disciple, male or female, who were to distribute in alms as much of the seven precious substances as would fill as many great chiliocosms as there are sands in all the rivers above described, would his merit be great or not?

Subhuti said: Very great, world-honoured one!

Buddha replied: And yet if there were a disciple, male or female, who in the perusal of this Súra advanced so far as to accept and appropriate the four canons (laid down in the former chapter), I declare on his behalf that his merit and happiness in consequence, would far exceed that of the former disciple.

*Cap. XII.—The honour and respect due to the true doctrine.*

Moreover, Subhúti, in repeating this Súra in due order, and having come to the part in which the four canons are laid down, you should know that at this point the whole body of Devas, men and asuras, ought with one accord to bring their tribute of worship, as to a temple or Stúpa. How much more then if there be a man who is able completely to believe and receive the whole Súra and to recite it throughout. Subhúti, know that this man has acquired knowledge of the most excellent and desirable of all laws; and if the place where this Sutra is recited be worthy of all honour as the place of Buddha himself, so also is this disciple honourable and worthy of the highest respect.

*Cap. XIII.—Relating to the character in which this system should be received by men.*

At this time Subhúti addressed Buddha, and said, World-honoured one, by what name ought we to accept and adopt this Súra?

Buddha replied, The name of this Súra is "Kin-kong

Poh-yo po-lo-mih" (Vajra-chhediká párami); by these words you ought to receive and adopt it.

But what then, Subhúti? Buddha declares that this "Kin-kong Poh-yo po-lo-mih" is after all not any such thing; that this title is a mere name.

Subhúti, how do you suppose? Has Tathágata any law which can be included in so many words?

Subhúti answered Buddha: World-honoured one, Tathágata has no such law.

Subhúti, what think you? as many minute particles of dust as there are in the great chiliocosm, are there many or not?

Subhúti answered, Very many, world-honoured one!

Subhúti, all these countless particles of dust Tathágata declares are no real particles; it is but an empty name by which they are known. Tathágata declares that all these systems of worlds composing the great chiliocosm are no real worlds; they are but empty names.

Subhúti, what think you? is it possible by regarding the thirty-two distinguishing marks to behold Tathágata?

No, world-honoured one! it is not possible to behold Tathágata by means of the thirty-two distinguishing marks.

For why? Tathágata declares that these thirty-two distinguishing marks are no real distinctions after all, that they are but mere names.

Subhúti, if there be a virtuous disciple, male or female, who should offer body and life in a work of charity, as many times as there are sands in the Ganges; and if, on the other hand, there be a man who receives and adopts the principles of this Sútra up to the point of the four canons; on account of this man, I declare his merit is very great, and in point of number vast indeed.

*Cap. XIV.—Removing all distinctive qualities, eternal rest and freedom is obtained.*

At this time Subhúti hearing this doctrine thus delivered, earnestly desiring a complete explanation of the system, deeply moved even to tears, addressed Buddha thus: Oh! thou much-desired, world-honoured one! the deep mysterious



doctrine which Buddha has now delivered, I, from days of old, when I first obtained the eyes of wisdom, have never yet heard equalled. World-honoured one! if we suppose a person to have heard this system, and with a believing heart, pure and calm, to have received it, then in that man is produced the true distinction, and we may then know that he has obtained merit, unequalled in character, to be desired above all things. (But) world-honoured one! this true distinction of which I spoke is after all no real distinction, and even of this Buddha declares that it is a mere name. World-honoured one! I having now heard the doctrine thus explained, understanding and believing the interpretation of it thus, accept and adopt it. I halt not at any difficulties; but if in future years, after the lapse of five centuries or more, all these countless sentient creatures having likewise heard this Sūtra, and believing its interpretation, accept and adopt it, these men likewise shall attain the unequalled and much to be desired condition (of merit before alluded to). And why so? but because these men are affected by neither of the four distinctive qualities, whether of self, or men, or worldly desire, or long life; but from this it follows that this very distinction of self is the same as no distinction, and so with the rest also, they are unreal, and not to be considered except as names. So that a man, getting rid of all such distinctions, arrives at the condition of what is called "the state of all the Buddhas."

Buddha replied: Subhúti, you are right, you are right!

But if again there be a man who hears this system of doctrine, and be neither affected by pride, or fear, or bewilderment, this man also, be it known, has attained the much desired condition before alluded to. What then, Subhúti? Tathágata declares that the first Páramitá (of charity) is no real Páramitá; this also is a mere name. And as to the Páramitá of Patience, Tathágata declares that this also is no Páramitá; it is but an empty name. What then, Subhúti? in old time, when I was King of Koli, and my body was cut up and mutilated (or when my body was mutilated by the King of Koli), I at that time was without either of these

four distinctive qualities of individuality ; and again, when I, in old time, was cut up piece by piece, limb by limb, if I then had possessed either of these four distinctive qualities, then surely I should have experienced some degree of anger or resentment. Subhúti, again when, in old time, five hundred generations since, I was the Rishi Kshánti (or a Rishi practising the Kshánti Páramitá), at that time I was not subject to either of these before-named distinctive qualities. Know this therefore, Subhúti, a Bodhisatwa ought to get rid of all these individual distinctions, and in aspiring after the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart, he ought to rely on no earth-born principle, he ought to rely on no disposition founded on either sound or odour or taste or touch or thought, he ought to depend only on having no dependence, for if the heart once learns to depend, then it has no real strength. Hence Buddha declares that the mind of the Bodhisatwa ought not to rely on any formal act of charity. Subhúti, the Bodhisatwa ought to distribute his almsgiving for the purpose of benefitting the whole mass of sentient creatures, and yet Tathágata declares that as all dependencies are after all no real subjects of dependence, so also he says that all sentient creatures are not in reality what they are called.

Subhúti, Tathágata's words are true words, real words, literal words, not wild or contradictory ones. Subhúti, the condition of Being to which Tathágata has attained, this condition is neither really capable of description, nor yet is it wholly unreal. Subhúti, if the heart of a Bodhisatwa rely upon any condition or active principle whatever in the discharge of his charitable labors, he is like a man entering into a dark place in which nothing can be seen, but if a Bodhisatwa do not rely on any active purpose whatever in the distribution of his alms, he is like a man with his eyes open, and the brightness of the sun around him, he sees clearly every form and every object. Subhúti, in future ages, if there be a disciple male or female, who is able to read through the whole, and accept and adopt the whole of this Sūtra, he is then the same as Tathágata himself. Buddha, by his supreme wisdom, clearly knows and clearly sees that

this man, arrived thus at complete perfection, derives boundless and immeasurable merit.

*Cap. XV.—The redundant merit derived from an adoption of this system of doctrine.*

Subhúti, if there be a disciple, male or female, who during the three portions of the day deliver in charity as many lives as there are sands in the Ganges, and proceed thus through a space of an asankhya of kalpas, ever offering up his life and body in alms, and if on the other hand there were a man who on hearing this system of doctrine, receives it into a believing heart, without any doubt or reservation, the happiness of this man is far superior to that of the other, how much rather if he receive and adopt this written doctrine, read and study it and expound it to man.

Subhúti, it is indeed the case that this Sútra contains a method which cannot be completely fathomed, it cannot be compared to anything which has been hitherto spoken, its distinguishing merit is without bounds. Tathágata, on behalf of those aspiring to the Great Vehicle, and those affecting the Highest Vehicle, says, if there be a man who is able to receive and adopt this Sútra and repeat it throughout and declare it generally amongst men, Tathágata clearly sees, clearly knows, all these having arrived at perfection shall attain merit without bounds, incomparable, not to be fathomed. Thus it is, all men being one with Ho-Tan (Gautama?), Tathágata, arrive at the state of the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened (heart). Moreover if a man delights in an inferior system (the Little Vehicle), relying on one of the four individual distinctions, he cannot receive and adopt, or study or proclaim this Sútra.

Subhúti, wherever it be that this Sútra [is thus read and proclaimed], all men, Devas and Asuras ought to bring their offerings, ought to apprehend that such a spot is as sacred as that where a Stúpa is erected, all ought to worship here with respect, to bring their flowers and incense, to scatter them around this locality.

*Cap. XVI.—Being once pure, all the power of Karma<sup>1</sup> is past.*

Moreover, Subhúti, if there be a disciple, male or female, who having received and adopted this Sútra reads it throughout, if on account of his evil Karma produced by his sins in former births, he be now born as a man of poor degree and unhappy circumstances, or having entered one of the three evil degrees of birth, he be now born poor and miserable as a man, all the evil Karma resulting from his former sins, shall now be for ever destroyed, and he himself be enabled to attain to the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart.

Subhúti, I remember countless ages ago, before Dípan-kara Buddha having met with infinite myriads of Buddhas, who were all engaged in performing the external duties of religious service, deceived by the belief of the reality of things around them; but if there be a man, who in after ages is able to accept and recite this Sútra throughout, the merit which he will thus attain to, shall infinitely exceed that which formal attention to religious observances will secure, so much so that to draw any proportion between them would be impossible, and incredible were it to be stated; for as the method and entire meaning of this Sútra is not to be described or entirely conceived, so the merit and happy consequences of accepting it, cannot be conceived or described.

*Cap. XVII.—Having arrived at the perfection of wisdom, there is no individuality left.*

At this time Subhúti addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one, if a disciple, male or female, aspire after the attainment of the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart, say, on what ought that disciple to ground his reliance; by what means ought he to destroy and suppress *this* evil heart?

Buddha replied: Subhúti, if a disciple, male or female, aspire after the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart, he ought to beget in himself this disposition [and say], "I must now destroy and get rid of all the principles of life in whatever creature they exist, all creatures being, as far as I am

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the word "Karma" from Spence Hardy; the Chinese (*níeh*) has a similar meaning.

concerned, thus destroyed and got rid of; then, in truth, there will be no longer any such thing as getting rid of all such creatures." So then, Subhúti, if a Bodhisatwa still be affected by any individual distinction, such as the following: I will strive after so and so because "it seems agreeable to me," or because "men approve of it," or because "it is the best reward for a sentient creature," or because "it entails endless duration of life," such a Bodhisatwa, I say, is not a true Bodhisatwa, wherefore it is plain, O Subhúti, that there is in reality no such condition of being as that described as the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart.

Subhúti, what think you? did Tathágata possess one fixed law of action when he attained in the days of Dípankara Buddha the condition of the unsurpassed heart?

No! world-honoured one! as I at least interpret the doctrine of Buddha, then Buddha had no fixed rule of action when in the days of Dípankara Buddha he attained the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart.

Buddha said: Right! Right! Subhúti, there is in truth no fixed law [by which] Tathágata attained this condition. Subhúti, if there had been such a law then, Dípankara Buddha would not have said in delivering the prediction concerning me, "You in after ages must attain to the state of Buddha, and your name shall be Sákya-muni," so that because there is indeed no fixed law for attaining the condition of "the perfect heart," on that account it was Dípankara Buddha delivered his prediction in such words. What, then, the very word "Tathágata" is the explanation as it were of all systems of law. If a man say, "Tathágata has arrived at the condition of the perfect heart," [and hence conclude that there is a fixed method by which he has so arrived, this is erroneous] Subhúti, in truth there is no such fixed law. The condition of the unsurpassed heart to which Tathágata has arrived, is thus a medial one, neither wholly real nor wholly false, hence Tathágata declares that all things<sup>1</sup> are but con-

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese expression "Yih tsai fab," (in the text) corresponds to "Yé dhammá" in the well known Gáthá,—

"Yé dhammá hétuppabbhawá," etc.

*vide* Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 196, and Jour. R.A.S., vol. xvi. p. 37.



ditions of being existing in Buddha himself. Subhúti, what men call "all things," is in fact just the contrary (*i.e.* no-things); such things are only mere names. Subhúti, it is as though there were a man with a very great body. Subhúti said: "World-honoured one! Tathágata speaks of a man's body as great, but this idea of greatness is but a mere name, it is just the opposite of a reality." Subhúti, so it is with the Bodhisatwa, if he should say "I ought to destroy all recollection of the countless kinds of creatures," this Bodhisatwa would not be really one, but only a nominal one. What then, Subhúti, there is in reality no fixed condition of being, and when this is the case, then a man is really a Bodhisatwa. Hence Buddha says that all things ought to be without any individual distinction. Subhúti, if a Bodhisatwa should say thus, "I ought to adorn the land of Buddha" (*i.e.* I ought to practise all the Páramitás and other meritorious observances, in order thoroughly to exhibit in myself the excellences of a Bodhisatwa), this Bodhisatwa ought not to be called one. For Buddha declared that this adornment is after all not any adornment, it is a mere name. Subhúti, if a Bodhisatwa completely gets rid of the idea of individuality, then this Bodhisatwa is one in reality and truth.

*Cap. XVIII.—When all things are brought to their one true state of being, then there can only be one method of knowledge.*

Subhúti, what think you? does Tathágata possess human power of sight?

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! Tathágata possesses this power.

Subhúti, what think you? has Tathágata the power of sight peculiar to Devas?

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! Tathágata possesses this power.

Subhúti, what think you? does Tathágata possess the eyes of wisdom?

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! Tathágata possesses this power.

Subhúti, what think you? does Tathágata possess the eyes of the law?

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! Tathágata possesses this power.

Subhúti, what think you? does Tathágata possess the eyes of Buddha?

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! Tathágata possesses this power.

Subhúti, what think you? as many sands as there are in the Ganges can Buddha declare (the number of these sands) (or, does Buddha say that these are [real] sands)?

Yes, world-honoured one! Tathágata declares [the number of] these sands.

Subhúti, what think you? if there were as many rivers Ganges as there are sands in the Ganges, would the sands of all these rivers be considerable or not? and if there were as many chiliocosms as there are sands, would these be numerous?

Very numerous indeed, world-honoured one!

Buddha said: As many sentient creatures as there are in all these numerous worlds; if there were as many different dispositions (or hearts) as there are creatures, Tathágata nevertheless distinctly knows them all, and he says that all these different dispositions are after all none at all in reality, and that they are mere names.

Wherefore, Subhúti, the various dispositions that have existed in relation with things past, present, or future, are all unsubstantial and unreal.

*Cap. XIX. treats of the universal diffusion<sup>1</sup> of the mystical body [of Tathágata.]*

Subhúti, what think you? if there were a man who in the practice of his charity were to bestow in alms enough of the seven precious substances to fill the great chiliocosm, would the merit which this man obtained by the consequent influences of such charity be great or not?

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmadhātu*, i.e. "universally diffused essence," called dharma.

Yes, certainly, world-honoured one! the effect of such charity would be very considerable in its consequent merit.

Subhúti, if that merit and happiness consequent on it, were real merit and happiness, then Tathágata would not describe it as being "great:" it is when the happiness is in reality vain and transitory that Buddha speaks of it comparatively as "much" or "great."

*Cap. XX.—On the removal of all material forms and all distinctive qualities.*

Subhúti, what think you? Is it possible to behold Buddha through the outward distinctions of his perfectly fashioned body? No, world-honoured one! Tathágata is not to be seen through the medium of any such distinctions as these. And why? Tathágata declares that all such distinctions are after all no real distinctions; this term perfectly-fashioned-body, is nothing more than a mere name.

Subhúti, what think you? is it possible to behold Tathágata in any of the various changes which his body may be made to undergo (*i.e.* his spiritual transformations)?

No, world-honoured one! Juloi must not thus be sought for. What then—Tathágata declares that all these various changes and appearances are after all unreal—by whatever terms they are known they are but mere names.

*Cap. XXI.—On the impossibility of expressing this system in words, that which can be so expressed is not agreeable to this body of doctrine.*

Subhúti, be mindful not to speak after this manner, "Tathágata has this intention in his heart, viz., 'I ought to have a definitely declared system of doctrine,'" never think thus. For why, if a man say that Tathágata has a definitely spoken system of doctrine, that man does but malign Buddha, for the law which I give cannot be explained in words. Subhúti, as to a definitely declared system of law, that which can be thus declared is no law, it is but an empty name.

At this time the aged sage Subhúti addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one! will the mass of sentient beings who

in future years may listen to this law, will they hereby have begotten in them a believing heart? Buddha said: Subhúti, that mass of sentient beings, of which you speak, in one sense is real, and in another is unreal. But what then, Subhuti? the mass of sentient beings, born of sentient beings, Tathágata declares are no such beings at all; the term "sentient beings" is but a name.

*Cap. XXII.—It is wrong also to say that this system or condition of being can be attained to.*

Subhúti addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one! Buddha having arrived at the condition of the unsurpassed and perfect heart, is he in the condition which has previously been described as "not to be attained?"

Buddha said: True, True, Subhúti! I, as possessed of this heart, have come into the condition above described. This term the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart, is but a mere name.

*Cap. XXIII.—The heart purified leads to virtuous practice.*

Moreover, Subhúti, this condition of being of which I speak is one and uniform. There is no such thing as high or low in it. This condition which is named the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened (heart), consists in nothing more than the exclusion of all individual distinctions. A man who practises all the rules of virtuous conduct will forthwith attain this condition. But, Subhúti, when we speak of rules of virtuous conduct, Tathágata declares that these rules are after all no real and lasting rules; the term is but a mere name.

*Cap. XXIV.—On the incomparable character of the happiness consequent on this wisdom.*

Subhúti, if all the royal Sumerus in the great chiliocosm were gathered together, and a man were to distribute in charity an amount of the seven precious substances equal to this accumulated mass, and if another man were to accept and adopt this Prajñá-páramitá Súra, up to the point of the four canons, and read and recite it, on account of that man,

I declare that his happiness and consequent merit would be incomparably greater than that of the other, so much so, that no number could express the excess of one over the other.

*Cap. XXV.—The non-reality of transformational differences.*

Subhúti, what think you? say not any of you that Tathágata thinks thus within himself, "I must deliver all these sentient creatures?" Subhúti, think not thus; and why? because in truth there are no such sentient beings for Tathágata to deliver; if there were, then Tathágata would immediately be subject to one of the *individual distinctions*.<sup>1</sup> Subhúti, Tathágata in speaking of the *first distinction of personality*,<sup>2</sup> declares that the term "I" is the same as that which is not "I," all other sects indeed believe in the reality of such personality. But, Subhúti, this expression "all other sects" Tathágata declares likewise to be a mere name, it is the same as that which is the opposite of this term (*i.e.* the name is nothing).<sup>3</sup>

*Cap. XXVI.—The mystical body without any distinct characteristic.*

Subhúti, what think you? is it possible to contemplate Tathágata through the thirty-two "distinctive signs,"<sup>4</sup> which adorn his person? Subhúti said: Yes! Yes! Tathágata is manifested through the thirty two distinctive signs. Buddha said: Subhúti, if Tathágata is to be seen through the medium of these signs, then every Chakrawartti is the same as Tathágata.

Subhúti addressed Buddha: World-honoured one! as I understand the doctrine which Buddha declares, Tathágata cannot be seen through the thirty-two distinctive signs. At this time the world-honoured one delivered the following Gáthá, "He who looks for me through any material form, or seeks me through any audible sound, that man has entered on a wrong course, he shall not be able to see Tathágata."

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the four distinctions constantly alluded to and explained in cap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> The first distinction, viz., the mark or distinction by which a man is known or speaks of himself as an individual (*Ego-ismness*).

<sup>3</sup> This chapter is obscure, it is one of pure negation.

<sup>4</sup> *Lakṣhaṇa*.



*Cap. XXVII.—But there is a period when it would be incorrect to say that all laws and conditions of being must be disregarded and expunged.*

Subhúti, if you should think thus, "Tathágata, by means of his personal distinctions has attained to the unsurpassable condition," you would be wrong, Subhúti. Tathágata has not arrived at this state by means of any such distinctions. But, Subhúti, do not come to such an opinion as this, viz., "that what is called the unsurpassed, just, and enlightened heart is nothing more than the mere neglect and destruction of all rules and conditions." Think not so, for why? the exhibition of this perfect and unsurpassed heart is not the consequence of having disregarded and destroyed all rules, in the active discharge of duty.

*Cap. XXVIII.—On not receiving and not coveting the reward of virtuous conduct.*

Subhúti, if a Bodhisatwa use in charity as much of the seven precious substances as would fill sakwalas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges; and if another man clearly understand the non-individual character of all conditions of being, and by patient endurance obtain perfection, the meritorious happiness of this Bodhisatwa exceeds that of the former. What then Subhúti, as far as all the Bodhisatwas are concerned there can be no such thing as the appreciation of reward.

Subhúti asked Buddha: "World-honoured one! what is this you say, that Bodhisatwas cannot be said to appreciate reward?"

Subhúti, the reward which a Bodhisatwa enjoys ought to be connected with no covetous desire; this is what I mean by non-appreciation of reward.

*Cap. XXIX.—The dignity appertaining to complete rest and composure (Nirváṇa).*

Subhúti, if there be a man who speaks of Tathágata as coming or going, as sitting or sleeping, this man understands not the secret of the system which I declare. For why?

That which is Tathágata has no where whence to come, and no where whither he can go, and is therefore named "Tathágata."

*Cap. XXX.—The characteristic of the "One Harmonious Principle."*

Subhúti, if a disciple, male or female, were to divide as many great chiliocosms as there are into small particles of dust, do you think that the whole mass of these particles would be numerous or not? Subhúti replied: Very numerous, world-honoured one! but yet if all these particles were such in reality, Buddha would not then have spoken of them in words. What then, if Buddha speaks of all these particles, then they are not really what they are called, it is but a mere name, world-honoured one! Tathágata speaks of the great chiliocosm, but this is nothing real—the term great chiliocosm is but a mere name. What then? if this universe be really something substantial, then it is but the *characteristic*<sup>1</sup> of the "one great harmonious principle."<sup>2</sup> But Tathágata declares that this also is something unreal—it is only an empty name.

Subhúti, this characteristic of the one "harmonious principle," is a thing which cannot be spoken of in words; it is only the vain philosophy of the world, which has grasped the idea of explaining this.

*Cap. XXXI.—Thus there will be no more any acquired knowledge.*

Subhúti, if a man say that Buddha declares that there is any such thing as a distinct knowledge of either of the four characteristics before named, do you think that this man properly explains the system I have now expounded?

No, world-honoured one! such a man would not properly explain this system, because Buddha declares that the knowledge of these characteristics is a knowledge of that which is not really existing, and therefore it is impossible.

Subhúti, the persons who aspire to the perfectly enlightened

<sup>1</sup> *Lakṣaṇa.*

<sup>2</sup> That is, the one principle or essence which includes all else.

heart, ought to know accordingly that this is true with respect to all things, and thus prevent the exhibition of any characteristics on any point whatever.

Subhūti, these very characteristics of which we speak are after all no characteristics, but a mere name.

*Cap. XXXII.—Every appearance is in fact unreal and false.*

Subhūti, if there were a man who kept for charity enough of the seven precious substances to fill innumerable asankyas of worlds, and if there was a disciple, male or female, who aspired after the perfectly enlightened heart, and adopted this Sūtra and arrived to (the observance of) the four canons, and carefully recited the various passages of the work and proclaimed them generally for the advantage of men, the happiness of this man would far exceed that of the other. And in what way can the disciple "proclaim them generally?" simply by relying on no conditions or distinctions whatever; thus he will act without agitation or excitement. Wherefore the conclusion is this—

That all things which admit of definition are as a dream, a phantom, a bubble, a shadow, as the dew and lightning flash. They ought to be regarded thus.

Buddha having uttered this Sūtra, the venerable Subhūti, and all the Bhikshus and Bhikshuṇīs, the lay-disciples, male and female, and all the devas and asuras, hearing the words thus spoken, were filled with joy, and believing they accepted them and departed.

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ART. II.—*The Páramitá-hridaya Sûtra, or, in Chinese, "Mo-ho-pó-ye-po-lo-mih-to-sin-king," i.e., "The Great Páramitá Heart Sûtra."* Translated from the Chinese by the Rev. S. BEAL, Chaplain, R.N.

[Presented December, 1863.]

THIS Sûtra consists of about two hundred and fifty characters. It is repeated in the course of the daily worship of the Buddhists, by rote, as a mantra would be repeated (according to Colebrooke, pp. 8, 9, *Relig. of Hindoos*), by the Hindoos. In its composition it resembles, or appears to resemble, the sacred writings of the Brahmans. No author's name is attached to it. It does not even begin with the usual preface "thus have I heard" (*evam mayá śrutam*). But we have mentioned in it the Rishi to whom it was communicated, and the Devatá from whom it proceeded. In this particular, at any rate, it strongly resembles the Vedic model. And when we recollect that the later Buddhists attempted in every possible way to absorb the system of the Brahmans in their own, yielding so far as they dared to popular superstitions, we shall not wonder in finding so many similarities, in externals at least, between the two religions.

From its brevity we may suppose that this Sûtra is a condensed form of the larger Páramitá works, abbreviated for the sake of frequent repetition, or, it is possible, that the larger works are but an expansion of this or some other equally curt production (*Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, s. 145*).

This Sûtra was probably the first translated by the celebrated pilgrim Hiouen Thsang. At any rate, it stands first in the authorized Chinese collection. Some interest attaches to it, moreover, on account of the numerous commentaries on its text, which have been published by a succession of learned Chinese priests. This work is the key, as it were, to the

doctrines of the contemplative or mystic school of Buddhists. This school has taken firm root in the southern districts of China. Hence we find that the most numerous and important editions of the "Heart Súra" have issued from monasteries in the southern provinces. The most ample, and perhaps most learned (if tedium is a proof of learning) commentary I have met with is that of a priest (Chan sse) called Tai Teén. He was the instructor of a celebrated person, called Han-chang-li, otherwise named Han U, or Han-wen-kung, who was vice-president of the Board of Punishment during the reign of the 11th Emperor of the Tang dynasty. "This officer was originally a strict Confucianist. The Emperor had sent (A.D. 819) some mandarins to escort a bone of Buddha from a place called Fung-tsian-fu, in the province of Shensi, to the capital. All the court, common people, eunuchs and ladies, vied with each other in their idolatrous adoration of this relic. Han-chang-li, however, indignant at their conduct, took this opportunity of presenting a strongly worded remonstrance to the Emperor, which he styled 'Fuh-kuh-hin,' i.e., Memorial on the bone of Buddha. For this honest exposition of his feelings, he was degraded from his post, and appointed prefect of a distant department, called Chiu Chau, in the province of Kwang Tung." After a year's residence in this place he fell sick, and was thus brought in contact with a priest called Tai Teen. To him the exiled mandarin confided his thoughts. A lasting and close friendship ensued. The consequence was, that the celebrated Han-chang-li became a believer in the Buddhist doctrine he had once despised and protested against. We may reasonably suppose that the "Heart Súra" of Tai Teen was the subject of frequent and earnest consideration with this conscientious officer; and as his appeal against the worship of the relic of Buddha is still authoritatively published and read to the common people, to dissuade them from such superstitions, the fact of the author of that tract having himself become a Buddhist through a consideration of the Súra we now are about to translate, becomes at least an interesting circumstance in connection with it.



The text and commentary of Tai Teën, which I have used, were republished in 1850 by a scholar (Tau jin), named Woo Tsing Tseu.

Āvalokiteśvara. [The Devatā of the Sūtra.]

When the Prajñā Pāramitā has been fully practised, then we clearly behold that the five skandha are all empty, vain, and unreal. So it is we escape the possibility of sorrow or obstruction.

Śāriputra. [The Rishi of the Sūtra.]

That which we call form (rūpa) is not different from that which we call space (ākāśa). Space is not different from form. Form is the same as space. Space is the same as form.

And so with the other skandhas, whether vedanā, or sanjñā, or saṃskāra, or vijñāna, (they are each the same as their opposite).

Śāriputra.

All these things around us (ye dhammā) being thus stript or devoid of qualities (lakṣaṇa), there can be no longer birth or death, defilement or purity, addition or destruction. In the midst then of this void (ākāśa), there can be neither rūpa, vedanā, sanjñā, saṃskāra, or vijñāna (*i.e.*, neither of the five skandha), nor yet organs of sense, whether the eye, or nose, ear, or tongue, body or mind (chitta), nor yet objects of sense, *i.e.* matter (rūpa), or sound, odour, or taste, touch, or ideas (chaitta), nor yet categories of sense (dhātu), such as the union of the object and subject in sight, in smell, in touch, in taste, in apprehension.

So there will be no such thing as ignorance (avidyā), nor yet freedom from ignorance, and therefore there can be none of its consequences (*viz.*, the twelve nidānas. Colebrooke, p. 255); and therefore no such thing as decay or death (jarā or maraṇa), nor yet freedom from decay and death. So neither can there be a method (or way) for destroying the concourse of sorrows. No such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as attaining (happiness or rest), as there will not be ought that can be attained.

The Bodhisatwa resting on this Prajñā Pāramitā, no sorrow or obstruction can then affect his heart, for there will be no

such thing as sorrow or obstruction. Therefore, having no fear or apprehension of evil, removing far from him all the distorting influences of illusive thought, he arrives at the goal of Nirvána.

The Buddhas of the three ages, relying on this Prajná Páramitá, have arrived at the "unsurpassed and enlightened" condition (*samyak-sambodhi*).

Therefore we know that this Prajná Páramitá is the Great Spiritual Dháraṇí,—it is the Great Light-giving Dháraṇí. This is the unsurpassed Dháraṇí. This is the unequalled Dháraṇí, able to destroy all sorrows. True and real, (*i.e.*, full of meaning), not vain (*i.e.*, unmeaning). Therefore we repeat (or let us repeat) the Prajná Páramitá Dháraṇí.

Then also say—

Ki-tai, Ki-tai,  
Po-lo, Ki-tai,  
Po-lo-seng-Kitai,  
Bo-tái-sah-po-ho.

*i.e.* [according to M. Julien's system] :

Gati, Gati, Paragati, Parasangati, Bodhisatvah,  
[words I cannot attempt to explain.]

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ART. III.—*On the Preservation of National Literature in the East.* By Colonel F. J. GOLDSMID.

[Read 30th November, 1863.]

Example: *The Sindî Legendary Poem of Sâsûi and Punhû.*

ENGLISH translations from Oriental languages are not easily made attractive to the general reader, unless they convey some startling novelty of idea or treatment, a position which they are not often calculated to realise. If literal, they are for the most part verbose or unmeaning; if adaptations to suit the supposed taste of the home public, they become subject to the rules of ordinary criticism, and have seldom the requisite stamina to pass creditably through the ordeal. I have always thought that the true charm of Sa'dî and Hâfiz rests more in the language than in the morals or poetry; consequently, that our English versions, however ably executed, are far from doing justice to the original. The airs are for a full orchestra, and we hear them on a piano or street organ. And if the Persian intellect be, as I believe, one which places sound above import, so also may we esteem that of other Eastern nations, whose poets are humble imitators of the Persians. These remarks apply with especial force to the romantic and fanciful schools of poetry, whether expressed after the fashion of an ode, a ballad, or a sonnet. I use intelligible terms, though all may not precisely correspond with the technical requirements of the Asiatic Muse.

At the same time, to arrive at a due estimate of a nation's genius, it will be necessary to know its words as well as its acts; and as comparatively few people, except those upon whom the task falls professionally, have time or inclination to devote themselves to the study of Oriental tongues, the

work of clothing them in European guise cannot be altogether abandoned. But the interpretation of treaties and political dialogues, instructive and necessary as they cannot fail to prove, is not satisfying. We should know something of a people's inner life and sentiment, as expressed by its own approved domestic spokesmen—in plainer words, by its bards and philosophers; and, in nine cases out of ten, the language of this class is all the more acceptable to us because addressed emphatically to their fellow-countrymen. It comes from and speaks to the heart and the home; it has no *arrière pensée* on civilized criticism; it is simply national, and the author knows nothing of "reserving the rights of translation."

If, then, the literature of distant lands should be valuable to us as an exotic, how much more should it be valued by the people or nation of whose individuality it is the truest and best representative? Or, putting a case more apposite to the argument about to be offered, how much more is it the part of the civilized rulers of that people or nation to treasure it as perhaps the most endurable inheritance of which they are the trustees? Amid the many and vast regions brought under her control, England not only bestows crowns and countries, but she imparts liberty and education. More than this: she exercises her discretion in laying down the language or dialect of her conquered provinces. If a grammar be wanted, she directs one to be made; if an alphabet be incomplete, she calls the attention of her craftsmen to supply the deficiency; and school-books in the vernacular issue from the press at her command by the dozen. But she cannot create a national literature; for few will gainsay the assertion that an educational course is a very different thing indeed. That I am not speaking at random, but on facts and experiences, will presently be shown.

A country, to preserve its nationality, should preserve its language and literature; and where tangible vestiges of the separate existence of both remain, the revival of one should be simultaneous, if possible, with that of the other. It is this feeling which actuates the Magyar of Hungary, who, whether his origin be Fin or Eastern, has been so long a

graft of Central Europe as to have found his second nature there—it is this which actuates him when he rejects the German of his Austrian masters, and clings to his ancestral tongue. In France and Spain the Basque is tenaciously preserved; in our own land the Gaelic, however fallen into disuse, is not suffered to die outright; the Norwegian will not allow the Icelandic wholly to appropriate the old Norse of his forefathers; and so on in many instances. The European instinct is patriotic; while in Asia it is a mere adherence to custom and precedent. The first will admit innovation where it does not interfere with personal liberty; the second abhors all change, from the simple fact that it is change. The Asiatic, that is, *our* Asiatic, would not cut down one tall tree in front of his house, though it obscured the most beautiful view of a whole forest beneath, just because it had been suffered to remain for a whole century before he had become its owner. It must be done for him. At first, he would complain; secondly, he would become reconciled; thirdly, he would forget the whole affair. A very remarkable instance of the revival of a language without a literature, in one of our Indian possessions, will serve to illustrate the meaning here intended, and may not be void of interest.

About twenty years ago, the Province of Sind was conquered by British troops under General Sir Charles Napier, and its people became parts of the mass of Indians who acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain. After some five years of occupation, when acquaintance between the governors and governed had so far ripened that administration had become clear and defined to the first, and the last had carefully noted the more salient points of the English character, attention was called to the question of language. There was an acknowledged medium of communication in very general use, called the "Sindí." Viewed as a mere dialect, its immediate geographical neighbours were the Punjábí, Jatakí, Multání, and Belúchkí. Each was distinct, and confined to its own ethnological range. But Sindí, as the language of a province, had no recognized written character, and here was the difficulty: one by no means unimportant.



The Ameers of Sind, Belúchís not Sindís themselves, were of a dynasty that had not ruled so long as sixty years before the British conquest; but their followers were no strangers in the land. Many of them had made it the country of their adoption, by virtue of the family settlements there, long prior to the Belúch accession. I have never heard of an attempt made, under this *régime*, to amalgamate Sindí and Belúchkí, or absorb either, but rather that nonchalance prevailed on the subject. Indeed, the reigning family, while retaining the last, did not object to associate with it the first, and could, perhaps, as a general rule, converse freely in both. But Persian was the language of their literature and of their state. No volume of poetry or prose was ever tendered for patronage or acceptance but in that musical tongue; no official report, or record of the most ordinary administrative act, ever issued from the Talpúr bureau in any other guise. Some of the Ameers composed in Persian. I have seen one or two books of which they were professedly the authors. It was a garbled and a vulgar Persian; but it must be borne in mind that this language, in its native purity, is comparatively unknown in India. Arabic was beyond the capacity of the Sindí or Belúch, or would have met with every attention. Under these circumstances it will not be surprising to find that Sindí, the natural language of the province, inasmuch as it bears its distinctive name, was left to be expressed in characters at the option of the writers; consequently, that the custom in this respect was a matter of caste and prejudice. The educated Mussulman wrote, and this but rarely, a language found in a few, and very few old books (strictly speaking, manuscripts), which he had learnt to read, the character of which was Arabic with the admission of Sanscrit points. This is known as the *Arabic-Sindí*. The Hindoo trader kept his correspondence and accounts in a hieroglyphic which was in many cases quite unintelligible to the members of his own firm and family, much more so to his fellow-traders *en masse*. This is known as the *Hindú-Sindí*, because Khudabádí, Gúrúmúkkí, or any more defined term, would be wholly incomprehensible. The spoken lan-

guage of the two might have been assimilated without much effort had there been a common alphabet; but, as above stated, none was to be found to meet the exigency.

The adoption of either the Mahomedan or Hindú character as an action of government, would seem to savour of partiality. One argument, however, was greatly in favour of the former in the scales of political justice. Sind, whatever religious revolutions it had undergone, was decidedly a Mahomedan country, and the Mahomedans were sensitively alive to this fact.

Opinion was divided on the point. Reports were called for and submitted, but judgment was reserved. Years passed with no result. The late Captain Stack published a grammar and dictionary of Sindí in the Devanágari character, but the sale of these books was far from encouraging. The fact is, that, the question of an established alphabet being in abeyance, it was hardly to be expected that English or native students of the language would, to gain their ends, choose the medium of a character current indeed on the other side of India, and useful enough at Bombay, but little known to the coast north of Guzerat. Eventually, the verdict was in favour of Arabic-Sindí; and in order to suit the alphabet to the several sounds required, one new letter and the modifications of other letters were introduced among those heretofore in use in the old Mahomedan manuscripts to which allusion has been made. In 1852 it became the official character of the province. Alphabets were circulated in sheets among the schools and public offices; educational works were lithographed, to turn the alphabet to practical account; and all candidates for government employ were required to master the character for official purposes.

That the effect upon the Mahomedans was not thoroughly satisfactory, may be learned from the following brief extracts of an Educational Report submitted by me in 1858. It was not the quality of the written Sindí to which they objected, but they could not see the object in making Sindí a written language at all :—

“The existence of the book known as ‘Hikáyut us Sáliheen,

or Narratives of Holy Men, in the Arabic-Sindí character, is a sufficient warrant for the adoption of the latter by Mussulmans, but they do not take to the new books printed with the same readiness exhibited by the Hindoos. I attribute the cause to the little influence exercised, or attempted to be exercised, by the Akhoonds; for where these books have been successfully taught, the success has been surprising. The pabulum is actually devoured: it is seized upon by smart lads as their daily food. The misfortune is that they have not more. They would consume twenty times the amount if set before them.

"It has been the fashion in this country (Sind), for many years, to consider the Persian language to contain all polite learning and literature, while Arabic has represented all that was venerable and scholastic in letters. The neglected 'Sindí,' without any one acknowledged character, became the medium of ordinary verbal communication, peculiar to the lips of the 'Langhas,' or minstrels, and those who learned by heart their legends. Such fashion had grown into inveterate custom about the period of the conquest; and it is no easy matter to dispel at once a tacit belief that, in substituting a native for a foreign tongue, we are preferring bazár-made tinsel to imported gold.

"Another difficulty to be met is the existence of pseudo-learned men; that is, of a certain set of individuals crammed with the more palpable lore of Arabic schools, without the smallest conception of its application to any useful purposes. Such as these would deem a recitation of the ten Predicaments of Aristotle to be a greater passport to favour and applause than any amount of sound practical knowledge; and their persuasions are not without force."

The Hindús of Sind are, for the greater part, either Ámils, that is, candidates for the Government Service, or Banyans, the traders or shopkeepers. With the former the alphabet had great success; with the latter it produced, as might have been expected, no fruits whatever: it was a dead letter for all commercial purposes. But so far from Hindú-Sindí being put aside, a question was next raised whether the measure

successfully introduced into the Punjab of employing Devanágari to the exclusion of the Khyasthi character could not be carried out in the sister province. To this it was replied—

1. That the Mussulman would never be brought to write the proposed Hindú-Sindí character, supposing that to be the established alphabet, nor would the trading Hindú readily desert the character in which his fathers and forefathers had ever kept their accounts. Not an instance could be recalled of a Mahomedan using or understanding Gúrúmúkkí or Khudabádí. And to establish the Arabic letters and punctuation for entries in a native *wái* or *roznámchéh* would be a measure productive of endless confusion.

2. It was proposed, however, to introduce, in the course of instruction laid down for provincial schools, a Hindú-Sindí alphabet in addition to the Arabic or Mussulman Sindí alphabet now used in official records. This would not alter the arrangement by which the latter had become the acknowledged character of the province, but would merely furnish material for a new branch of study, required almost solely for a mercantile community.

No further objection having been offered to its progress, and time having done its preliminary part, the resuscitation of Arabic-Sindí may now be considered a *fait accompli*. The staple having thus been strengthened, let us now see what has been done in the way of manufacture.

I have not a list at hand of the numerous educational works, chiefly of an elementary character, which have been published at the Sind Lithographic Press. But it may be noted that a whole set was presented by me, through the Bombay Government, to the International Exhibition, and may, perhaps, be still available for inspection. In the wish to give them a respectable appearance, and at the same time enhance their nationality, the fault was committed of clothing them in Hyderabad embroidered cloth. For this the blame rests upon myself. The result has unfortunately been that an offering intended as a specimen of educational advancement in one of our comparatively new territorial acquisitions, has been con-

verted into a specimen of manual dexterity, and the shell exhibited to the prejudice of its contents.

Among these specimens was a small pamphlet containing a Sindí Poem, entitled Sáswí and Punhú. It was one of a series which I had hoped to have collected as contributions to the Educational Library in Sind, a measure approved by the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay; but experience soon proved to me that, to get a worthy record of this description of literature, more time and labour would be requisite than were ordinarily at my disposal. The case of Sáswí and Punhú may be cited as one illustrative of all these legends and romances, among which it stands first in popularity. Unless where one manuscript had been transcribed from another manuscript, or prepared in duplicate, it would be almost impossible to obtain two copies exactly alike. The story had hitherto existed solely in the memory of the minstrels, or in single copies obtained at different times by different persons. Like the Sindí language itself, spoken by many, written by few, and without a common character acknowledged by any, so was the traditionary poem. It was recited by many, seldom criticised, and no set version recognised. Not improbably, the story was a mere theme, and the more the narrator could vary his words from recital to recital, the greater to his professional credit. He was not an *improvisatore*, but a player of variations: although an *improvisazione* is not rare in the East. The Chárans or religious bards of the desert S.E. of Sind, bordering on Cutch and Joudhpoor, are remarkable instances in point.

The present copy of Sáswí and Punhú was obtained by the agency of two intelligent natives in the Office of the Commissioner in Sind during a recent cold weather tour throughout that province. Two papers were written down from two recitations, each independent of the other, and the results collated. In rendering the tale into English metre of not unfamiliar nine feet measure, I must disclaim any more ambition than that of endeavouring to imitate the rhythm and convey some notion of the character, as well as to follow the literal meaning of the original; making the version use-



ful, if need be, to the student of Sindí. Here and there I have been compelled to deviate from the precise letter of the verse, but not, I hope, to that extent to nullify the last-named object. Captain Richard Burton, H.M. Consul at Fernando Po, an officer whose extraordinary talents as a linguist and an explorer present a combination of which we may be at a loss to find a parallel in the present day, has detailed the argument so skilfully in the fourth chapter of his *History of Sind* (I wish he had called it "*Sind and its Inhabitants*"), that a very few words will suffice to sketch it at second hand.

Sáswí was the daughter of a Brahmin of Thátta. At her birth, it was foretold by the astrologers that she would forsake the religion of her fathers. This prediction so terrified the parents that they placed the infant in a coffer, and committed her to the waters of the Indus. She was found by a washerman, taken to the town of Bhambora, and brought up there.

Some years afterwards, Punhú Khán, a young Belúch chief of Mekrán, heard of the charms of the foundling, then verging on womanhood, obtained access to her house in disguise, wooed, won, and married her. His indignant father, Jám Ári, of Kedje, hearing of the match, caused him to be seized and carried forcibly back to his home. Sáswí, wild at the separation, started off on foot in quest of her lord. On her journey, after various mishaps, she came in the way of a hill barbarian, who attempted to gain possession of her. She prayed for relief, and was instantly swallowed up in the earth!

A similar fate awaited Punhú, who soon after arrived at the same spot, like Romeo, found his Juliet departed, and courted death as the only remedy for his woe.

The story of Mahomed Cassim's invasion is too well known to readers of Asiatic annals to need repetition even in abstract. It is only now further alluded to, because it is popularly considered the conquest of Sind, when, in reality, it must rather have been the overwhelming irruption of Mahomed of Ghizni which subjugated the province. The immediate successors of Mahomed Cassim effected but a partial occupation. Let it be

granted that the Arabs colonized, and changed much of the old-established order of things. They shivered the Pagan staff, as at Déwul, and ridiculed the idol worship, as at Alore; but the huge Sanscrit tree had its thousand ramifications, and these were not to be uprooted by a comparative handful of adventurers. As with the peculiar genius of the country and people invaded, so with their language. Intolerance and forcible conversion became the order of the day. The broken stick and trampled image may be likened to the written character or outward symbol. As the mosque and minaret were founded amid the subverted temples and shrines of Indian mythology, so was the stately letter of the Koran driven into the many-phased Indian alphabet. Hence the old manuscript language, whose renewal under the name of Arabic-Sindí has been described.

That Kedje Mekrán, the neighbouring country to Sind, was ruled by a chief designated "Jám," proves the power of the Semmas to the westward, two centuries before they became the sovereigns of Sind itself. Usually considered a race of Rajputs, their descendants are now traceable in the Jharejas of Cutch, and the Sind Semmas and Jokyas of the present day—the first adhering to the idolatry of their ancestors, the second so bigoted to Mahomedanism as to reject wholly the truth of their Hindú origin. But there is evidence to make the Judgáls or Zudgáls of Sus Beyla Semmas also; and we find this large section still exercising a *quasi* independent authority not only over 240 miles of coast from Kurrachee westward, but as far to the west as the boundary of the Muscat Imám's territory of Chinbár, namely, between the meridians  $60^{\circ} 40'$ , and  $61^{\circ} 40'$  E. lon. In Kurrachee, the Jokyas are the aboriginal owners of the soil; and eastward in Cutch the Jharejas are the reigning dynasty. The title of Jám, which was probably assumed by the first Semma converts to Mahomedanism, from their supposed ancestor Jamshíd, was peculiar to the Tháttah sovereigns of Lower Sind in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as it is now hereditary with the chief of the Jokyas and the ruler of Beyla. The facts afford matter of much interesting inquiry

to the ethnologist—an inquiry which has yet to be carried to satisfactory results.

But though history and chronology may not derive valuable aid from our poem, it has merits of its own more akin to those which may reasonably be looked for in a popular Oriental legend thought worthy of revival. Novelty of plot can hardly be expected in a story at least five hundred years old, but novelty of incident will not, perhaps, be found wanting. The adventures of the young Belúch chief Punhú Khán, when, disguised as a washerman, he finds access to the house of Sáswí's supposed father, himself a washerman, are told with piquancy and humour. He is required to show his professional skill, clumsily batters the clothes to pieces against the washing-stone in endeavouring to cleanse them, then hits on the successful device of quieting the owners by placing a gold coin in each one's bundle. I greatly regret the incompleteness as well as prolixity in the version which I have procured; and I say this the more strongly because the extracts given in Captain Burton's work on Sind lead me to believe that he must have obtained a better one. Not that I grudge him the triumph due to his own perseverance and discrimination; but that it is to be feared the genius of the Sindí bard has deteriorated from want of practice and encouragement under British occupation. My Múnshi appropriated, at my own suggestion, two of the extracts, and these two will be found, in stanzas 65 and 74 of the lithographed poem Arabicized from Captain Burton's Romanized Sindí. It should be noted, however, that Captain Burton, speaking of the translations and specimens of the tales and songs most admired by Sindís, which he presents to the public, explains that his MS. is a small one of about thirty pages, in Sindí and Persian both. This leads me to believe that he could not have possessed complete copies of each poem; and this impression is confirmed in the case of Sáswí and Punhú, by the statement that his poet plunges *in medias res*, neglecting his prolegomena. Now my poet, though less eloquent than Captain Burton's, begins at the beginning of his subject.

Another version of Sáswí and Punhú was obtained some

four or five years ago by Dr. Trumpp, of the Church Missionary Society. Had this erudite gentleman given to the world his collection of Sindí Poems, the present attempt would have been superfluous. But I am apprehensive that, if they do appear at all, it will be in a guise foreign to that approved by Government. Dr. Trumpp objects to the *Arabic-Sindí* character, upon philological principles, and prefers the *Urdú*, which, he contends, can be rendered equally applicable to the expression of Sindí sounds. Without recording an unsustained opinion on this point, I cannot but hope that the missionaries will adopt the Government letter. A point of philology is surely not so important to their great objects as the use of a character generally understood throughout the province by all educated Sindís, except the strictly mercantile class, who steadily refuse to receive any character but their own. Without fighting the philological battle, I may confidently assert that the *Arabic-Sindí* is so understood, is day by day becoming more firmly rooted, and that the *Urdú-Sindí* is comparatively illegible to natives, even in Dr. Trumpp's admirably clear type. Under these circumstances, to revert to my starting-point, it is deferentially submitted that a collection of all original, semi-original, and popular traditional literature in Sind, in the revived and recognised character, will be more valuable to the student of the Sindí language, and more acceptable to the province itself, than educational translations, however well executed and useful. But early measures should be taken to preserve these traditions, for they are liable to deterioration under the influence of Western civilisation. It is not intended that education should relax a jot, or make way for these revivals; only that it should not throw them into too cold a shadow, when sunlight is required.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, I learn that Government sanction has been given to the publication of Dr. Trumpp's valuable Sindí collections. Had these appeared before the results above noted had been obtained, my humble advocacy would not, in all probability, have been offered on behalf of the "*Arabic-Sindí*." As it is, I see no cause to modify the opinion recorded. Under any circumstances, the people themselves should be the best judges of their own alphabet, and will, doubtless, be allowed to confirm or modify the choice heretofore made.

To conclude. A recent exploration on the Mekrán coast caused me to make inquiries on the scenery of the little drama of Sáswi and Punhú. By one I was informed that the lovers' resting place is in the "Pubbúni" pass of the hills dividing Sind from Beyla; by another that it is at Mount Phír, some miles to the westward. The former notion is that commonly received. The pass is now little frequented, owing to its many difficulties, and the vicinity, both north and south, of simple routes. The legend seems just as well known in Beyla as in Sind.

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ART. IV.—*On the Agricultural, Commercial, Financial, and Military Statistics of Ceylon.* By E. R. POWER, Esq.

[Read 21st December, 1863.]

THE following brief remarks on the Agricultural and Commercial Statistics of Ceylon, past and present, may not be without interest to the Members of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce of the Royal Asiatic Society.

First. In respect to the present great staple of the colony. In 1809, according to the records of the Local Government under the Dutch *régime*, the production of coffee in the island, both for consumption and export, was about 250,000 lbs. From that period the production continued steadily to increase; but it was in 1836, when the equalization in England of the duty on East and West India Coffee took place, that European capital and skill were brought to bear, and that to a large extent, in reference to the cultivation of the berry. Prior to the equalization of the duties, the import duty on Ceylon coffee in England had been 9*d.* per lb. In 1836 the duty was reduced to 3*d.* per lb., or 28*s.* per cwt.; and as the demand for the article continued undiminished, an equal rise of the price of coffee in bond simultaneously took place, the price to the consumer remaining much as before, and the importer reaping the benefit.

The quantity of coffee exported since the year 1838,—(at which year the interesting statistical information anent Ceylon, which is to be found in the printed proceedings of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, of March, 1840, page 145, ends),—is as follows:—

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1839 ...	40,668 cwt.	1842 ...	80,584 cwt.
1840 ...	62,074 „	1843 ...	119,805 „
1841 ...	68,206 „	1844 ...	94,847 „

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1845 ...	133,957 cwt.	1854 ...	328,971 cwt.
1846 ...	178,603 „	1855 ...	407,621 „
1847 ..	173,892 „	1856 ...	440,819 „
1848 ...	293,221 „	1857 ...	602,266 „
1849 ...	280,010 „	1858 ...	544,507 „
1850 ...	373,593 „	1859 ...	589,778 „
1851 ...	278,473 „	1860 ...	620,132 „
1852 ...	349,957 „	1861 <sup>1</sup> ...	632,449 „
1853 ...	372,379 „		

An export duty of 1s. per cwt. is levied in Ceylon.

Coffee land, and land sold for coffee, consists of 462,254 acres, of which, probably, 132,000 acres is the area bearing coffee at present. Land for coffee cultivation is put up to public competition at an upset price of £1 an acre.

*Cinnamon.*—In the paper I have already alluded to,—(Proceedings of Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, March, 1840, page 145),—the writer enters into some detail in reference to the then state of the Ceylon cinnamon trade; and I will only therefore remark that since that paper was written all the Government preserved cinnamon gardens have been sold, with the exception of a portion in the immediate vicinity of the town of Colombo, which is retained by Government, and small building lots from which are exposed at public sale from time to time as the requirements of the public demand. The only duty on cinnamon exported from Ceylon is 2s. per bale of 100 lbs. net, without reference to quality. There is, I apprehend, little doubt but that Ceylon still produces the finest cinnamon, and that it is superior in flavour to both the Malabar and Java spice; but the increasing consumption of both the latter demonstrates that they can be substituted with effect for the finer bark of Ceylon. The preserved gardens purchased from Government by private individuals are, taken as a whole, in excellent condition. Magnificent samples of cinnamon, of the three qualities, were exhibited at the last International Exhibition from the estate of Mr. David Smith, of Kaderane, in the western province of Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> Declared value, £1,599,223.

The following is a statement of the cinnamon exported from Ceylon from 1838 to the end of 1860 :—

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1838 ...	558,110 lbs.	1850 ...	733,781 lbs.
1839 ...	398,198 „	1851 ...	644,857 „
1840 ...	596,592 „	1852 ...	508,491 „
1841 ...	389,373 „	1853 ...	427,666 „
1842 ...	317,919 „	1854 ...	956,280 „
1843 ...	121,145 „	1855 ...	784,284 „
1844 ...	662,704 „	1856 ...	877,547 „
1845 ...	1,057,841 „	1857 ...	887,959 „
1846 ...	408,211 „	1858 ...	750,744 „
1847 ...	401,656 „	1859 ...	879,361 „
1848 ...	447,369 „	1860 ...	675,155 „
1849 ...	491,687 „		

The land under cinnamon cultivation is about 14,400 acres.

*Cocoa-nut Oil.*—The history of the rise and progress of this article of export illustrates the beneficial results of the action of Government in a tropical and recent agricultural colony (for prior to 1830 Ceylon could only be regarded as a military post of importance), up to a certain point, in introducing new articles of export.

The Local Government of the day imported a steam engine from England, manufactured the oil in Colombo, and consigned it to London, to the island agent, where it was sold and brought to the credit of the Government. In 1831, Governor Sir R. Wilmot Horton directed that the account sales of the oil should be duly published in the Government Gazette, with a note, that the engine, etc., were for sale. A highly respectable firm purchased the engine, etc., and from that period commenced the export of cocoa-nut oil by private individuals, which has reached so high a figure at the present time.

The following is the quantity of cocoa-nut oil exported from Ceylon since 1838 up to 1860, both years inclusive.

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1838 ...	638,677 galls.	1841 ...	475,742 galls.
1839 ...	242,680 „	1842 ...	321,966 „
1840 ...	357,543 „	1843 ...	475,967 „

Year.	Quantity.	Year.	Quantity.
1844 ...	726,206 galls.	1853 ...	749,028 galls.
1845 ...	443,301 „	1854 ...	1,033,974 „
1846 ...	282,186 „	1855 ...	1,059,272 „
1847 ...	123,981 „	1856 ...	1,046,326 „
1848 ...	197,851 „	1857 ...	1,679,258 „
1849 ...	311,526 „	1858 ...	777,161 „
1850 ...	513,279 „	1859 ...	1,188,637 „
1851 ...	407,960 „	1860 ...	1,549,088 „
1852 ...	443,699 „		

The export duty levied in Ceylon is  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  per cwt.

56,000 acres of land have been sold for cocoa-nut cultivation. The present area of land under cocoa-nut cultivation is, probably, about 129,000 acres.

*Rice.*—About 400,000 acres of land is under rice cultivation, perhaps more; but the island does not yield, by any means, the quantity required by its inhabitants and immigrants, and is a large importer from Continental India, etc. It is to be hoped that, sooner or later, the good effects of recent local legislation, enforcing former native customs, in regard to the irrigation of rice fields, will become manifest, by a larger area of land being under rice cultivation than is at present the case.

*Cotton.*—There are no cotton estates in the island: a portion of the samples of cotton sent to the late International Exhibition were from small patches of land in which cotton had been sown by European gentlemen as an experiment; the remainder of the samples sent were grown by the natives on their *cheynes*, or high and dry lands. Mr. Wanklyn, of the Cotton Supply Association, valued the samples sent as follows:—No. 1. Like good strong New Orleans, worth from 12*d.* to 13*d.* per lb. No. 2. Not good colour, but strong, worth 12*d.* per lb. No. 3. Short, weak, and coarse, worth from 10*d.* to 11*d.* per lb.

The cotton, which I perceive has been lately reported in a printed paper as being the produce of Ceylon, was grown in the Madras Presidency, and was only reshipped from Ceylon. A considerable quantity of native cotton was, doubtless, pro-

duced many years ago, and was manufactured into native cloth in the island, but not, to the best of my knowledge, exported. Small quantities of cotton are still produced in the northern, eastern, and north-west provinces, and are manufactured into cloths. The importation of manufactured goods of late years from England has led to a considerable diminution of the cotton grown on the island, and the quantity of native cotton sold is so small that no fixed price can be named as its local market value.

I am, however, of opinion that if a few cotton estates were opened under European superintendence, in suitable localities, and if prices maintain anything like the present standard, the natives would cultivate cotton to a far greater extent than they do at present: this has occurred in the case of native coffee cultivation in Ceylon.

The Government of Ceylon, with the ready sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, is prepared to afford due encouragement to persons who may feel disposed to embark in the cultivation of cotton. At present there exists no actual want of labour in the colony for estate purposes, drawn from the continent of India; but, individually, I hold the opinion that Chinese labour would answer the best for cotton cultivation in Ceylon. I mean purely agricultural labourers, drawn from the densely-populated provinces north of Shanghai. Considering their strength, capacity for work, and this latter of a *continuous* character, Chinese would not be found expensive, and are, in my opinion, well adapted, as I have already mentioned, for employment in the cultivation of cotton. Chinese, both *male and female*, have been introduced with good effect into British Guiana for sugar cultivation.

The large works of a reproductive character which are being carried on in Continental India by Government and private agency, it is apprehended will, sooner or later, disturb more or less the supply of labour in Ceylon drawn from India.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are, it is supposed, upwards of 146,000 immigrants employed in Ceylon, chiefly on the coffee estates. The rate of pay varies from 7d. to 9d. a day for an able-bodied man.



*Financial Position of the Colony.*—The revenue of Ceylon (1861) was £751,997; the expenditure (1861) amounted to £654,989. The only public debt is £100,000, which was raised to pay off the old Ceylon railway, and payable in 1868. A further sum of £250,000, being the first instalment of £1,000,000, which her Majesty's Government have sanctioned being raised, to be applied exclusively to railway purposes within the island, has just been borrowed: a high rate of premium having been given by the applicants, the debt is redeemable within fifteen years. The export duties levied in the island have been reimposed, to meet the interest of the loan, and their amount is kept distinct from the general revenue of the colony.

At present the colony pays £100,536 towards its military expenditure; and, from the statement made by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons in March last, it would appear to be the intention of her Majesty's Government to call upon the colony to contribute a further sum for military establishments. It is to be hoped, when this additional charge is imposed, the required steps will be taken to reduce the heavy and, what I have heard admitted by military men of experience, unnecessary charges for the island military staff, and to place the whole military expenditure under the control of the Local Government, who, while acting with due liberality to her Majesty's troops, would prune all unnecessary charges. The present military force consists only of *one* European regiment, one Malay rifle regiment, and a few Royal Artillerymen, while nearly the same staff is retained as when the military force in the colony consisted of *four* European regiments, and more native troops. A major-general and staff, with an adjutant-general, and quartermaster-general, etc., can surely not be required with a force of only two regiments; the senior colonel in the island could command these few troops, and a considerable and legitimate saving would follow. Again, the charges involved in keeping up the fortifications of the towns are considerable. To man effectively the very extensive fortifications of Colombo alone, would require probably treble the

whole existing military force in the island! If authority were given to the Local Government to remove the present fortifications, substituting in their stead one or more batteries, to be mounted with Armstrong guns, such guns, as the shore is very rocky, with a high surf, might be expected to do good service against a hostile squadron; while the sale of the site and *débris* of the existing huge fortifications of Colombo—constructed by the Dutch, doubtless to protect themselves from an internal enemy, the Kandians being then an independent nation—would yield a considerable sum to the local treasury, and their removal would add much to the salubrity of Colombo, and be of considerable advantage to its greatly increasing trade.

In regard to the fortifications of Trincomalee, I would submit that the cost of their repair, etc., should be viewed as an Imperial question, as they are required for the safety of her Majesty's dockyard, and other naval establishments at that magnificent port (one of Lord Nelson's principal harbours of the world). Many years ago, it was recommended by the then Governor of Ceylon, Sir R. Wilmot Horton, and the Naval Commander-in-Chief in the Eastern Seas, Sir John Gore, that Trincomalee should be garrisoned by marines, to be relieved, from time to time, by marines of the men-of-war on the station: this plan is, I would submit, worthy of present consideration. In regard to the harbour on the south of the island, called Point de Galle, towards the close of last year a letter was addressed to the editor of the London *Times*, signed "A Bengalee," stating that enormous sums have been spent by the Local Government on this harbour. To my personal knowledge, this is a complete error; and it may be convenient if I mention the correct state of the case. It would appear, from Parliamentary papers that have been lately printed, relative to the improvement of Galle harbour, that the subject is at present under the consideration of her Majesty's Government; the Secretary of State for the Colonies being prepared, if the Treasury concur in his Grace's views, to propose to the local legislature a vote for an outlay not exceeding £25,000 for the improvement of Galle harbour,

the amount to be raised by loan, and to be repaid by additional tonnage dues. The Governor has strongly pressed the subject on the attention of the home authorities. His Excellency states in his published despatch to the Colonial Department, that the addition of a safe and commodious harbour only is needed to make Galle the most important port in the Indian Seas. In the letter above alluded to of "Bengalee," I gather that, while he takes a *couleur de rose* view of Bepore, as a port of call in preference to Galle, he still admits that it is exposed to a heavy surf, although not so bad as that experienced at Madras.

As I am under the impression that it is an admitted fact that Ceylon is far more salubrious than the continent of India, so much so, that several of the home life assurance companies (no mean authorities) have reduced the extra premia on the lives of residents in that colony;—looking at the admirable roads, far better than those on the neighbouring continent, indeed, as good as any in Europe, which connect the temperate climate of the interior with the sea coast; looking also at the railroad between Colombo and Kandy, now in course of construction, and at the electric telegraph connecting Ceylon with all India,—the proposition submitted some years ago by a former governor of Ceylon (Sir. R. Wilmot Horton) to the Home Government of the day, *i.e.*, that from the known salubrity of Ceylon, especially that part which is known as the Mountain Zone (Kandy and Newera Ellia, the latter station being about 6,200 feet above the level of the sea, with a very low range of the thermometer), the island would serve as an admirable depôt for two or three European regiments for the Indian establishment, to be maintained, of course, at the cost of the Indian Government, and ready to move down at any moment to the seaports of Colombo or Galle, the latter being the great "port of call" for all steamers in the eastern seas,—is well worthy the present consideration of the proper authorities. I may venture to add, that, putting aside the great advance in prosperity of Ceylon, its geographical position, its truly magnificent harbour of Trincomalee, and the inoffensive and loyal character

of its population,—the latter fairly tested by a former governor (Sir H. G. Ward) being able to dispense with nearly all the European troops in the island, and to send them to Bengal on the breaking out of the Indian disturbances—Ceylon may fairly be considered one of the chief keys of our Indian Empire. Again, as it is stated in a most interesting article in a late number of the *Friend of India*, headed “The Sole Military Highway to India,” at Ceylon all the invalids of our force in the East might be periodically collected and despatched to the Mediterranean, from time to time, a course which would save many valuable lives, representing so much money, to the army.

As Mr. C. Fortescue, with much truth, stated in his place in the House of Commons, the proposal of annexing Ceylon to Continental India has caused alarm in the colony, and justly so. Ceylon has hitherto been foremost in the East, as regards liberality and progress,—she has had for many years an open council, and welcomed the arrival of European planters to develop her resources, and thereby benefit all classes. After years of close monopoly, the Government of British India is following, in many particulars, the example of Ceylon; and it would be most unfair to hand over this now flourishing colony to be a mere “apanage” of the huge Indian Empire; its vital interests to be, possibly, neglected, amidst the more absorbing demands of Continental India. The native inhabitants and European colonists have reason to be contented with the rule of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and have no wish for a change of home masters.

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ART. V.—*Contributions to a Knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology.* By J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D.

[Read 18th January, 1864.]

IN the fourth volume of my Sanskrit Texts I have collected the principal passages of the Vedic Hymns which refer to the origin of the universe, and to the characters of the gods Hiranyagarbha, Viṣvakarman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, and the goddess Ambikâ; and have compared the representations there given of these deities with the later stories and speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Brâhmaṇas, and in the mythological poems of a more modern date. In the course of these researches, I have also introduced occasional notices of some of the other Vedic deities, such as Aditi, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

In the present and some following papers, I propose to give a further account of the cosmogony, mythology, and religious ideas of the Rig Veda,<sup>1</sup> and to compare these occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.

To a simple mind reflecting, in the early ages of the world, on the origin of all things, various solutions of the mystery might naturally present themselves. Sometimes the production of the existing universe would be ascribed to physical, and at other times to spiritual, powers. On the one hand, the various changes which are constantly in progress

<sup>1</sup> This subject has been already treated by Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian races," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 67 ff.; by the same writer, and by Professor Whitney in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 291 ff., and 331 ff.; by Professor Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 607 ff.; by Professor Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, and in his History of Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 531 ff.; by Professor Wilson in the Prefaces to the three vols. of his translation of the Rig Veda; by M. Langlois in his notes to his French translation of the Rig Veda; by Professor Weber, and by Drs. Kuhn and Bühler, etc. etc.



in all the departments of nature might have suggested the notion of the world having gradually arisen out of nothing, or out of a pre-existing chaos. Such an idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of a primeval principle, or out of undeveloped matter, called Prakṛti, became at a later period the foundation of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Again, the mode in which, in the early morning, light emerges slowly out of darkness, and objects previously undistinguishable assume by degrees a distinct form and colour, might easily have led to the conception of night being the origin of all things. And, in fact, this idea of the universe having sprung out of darkness and chaos is the doctrine of one of the later hymns of the R. V. (x. 129). On the other hand, our daily experience leads to the conclusion that every thing which exists must have had a maker, and the great majority of men are impelled by a natural instinct to create other beings after their own image, but endowed with superior powers, to whose conscious agency, rather than to the working of a blind necessity, they are disposed to ascribe the production of the world. In this stage of thought, however, before the mind had risen to the conception of one supreme creator and governor of all things, the different departments of nature were apportioned between different gods, each of whom was imagined to preside over his own especial domain. But these domains were imperfectly defined; one was confused with another, and might thus be subject, in part, to the rule of more than one deity; or, according to the diverse relations or aspects in which they were regarded, these several provinces of the creation might be subdivided among distinct divinities, or varying forms of the same divinity. These remarks might be illustrated by numerous instances drawn from the Vedic mythology. In considering the literary productions of this same period, we further find that as yet the difference between mind and matter was but imperfectly conceived, and that, although, in some cases, the distinction between any particular province of nature and the deity who was supposed to preside over it was clearly discerned, yet in other cases the two things were confounded, and the same visible object was

at different times regarded in different lights, as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being. Thus, in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth, are looked upon sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings.

The varieties and discrepancies which are in this way incident to all nature-worship, are, in the case of the Vedic mythology, augmented by the number of the poets by whom it was created, and the length of time during which it continued in process of formation.

The Rîg Veda consists of more than a thousand hymns, composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries. In these songs the authors gave expression not only to the notions of the supernatural world which they had inherited from their ancestors, but also to their own new conceptions. In that early age the imaginations of men were peculiarly open to impressions from without; and in a country like India, where the phenomena of nature are often of the most striking description, such spectators could not fail to be overpowered by their influence. The creative faculties of the poets were thus stimulated to the highest pitch. They saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers. Day and night, heaven and earth, rain, sunshine, all the parts of space, and all the elements, were severally governed by their own deities, whose characters corresponded with those of the physical operations or appearances which they represented. In the hymns composed under the influence of any grand phenomena, the authors would naturally ascribe a peculiar or exclusive importance to the deities by whose action these appeared to have been produced. Other poets might attribute the same natural appearances to the agency of other deities, whose greatness they would in consequence extol; while others again would adopt in preference the service of some other god whose working they seemed to witness in some other domain. In this way, while the same traditional divinities were acknowledged by all, the power, dignity, and functions

of each particular god might be differently estimated by different poets, or perhaps by the same poet, according to the external influences by which he was inspired on each occasion. And it might even happen that some deity who had formerly remained obscure, would, by the genius of a new poet devoted to his worship, be brought out into greater prominence. In such circumstances it need not surprise us if we find one particular power or deity in one place put above, and in another place subordinated to, some other god; sometimes regarded as the creator, and sometimes as the created. This is illustrated in the case of the first Vedic divinities to which I shall refer, viz., Heaven and Earth.

#### I. DYĀUS AND PṚTHIVĪ.

In addition to numerous detached verses in which Heaven and Earth (Dyaus and Pṛthivī) are introduced among other divinities, are invited to attend religious rites, and supplicated for different blessings, there are several hymns (such as i. 159; i. 160; i. 185; iv. 56; vi. 70; and vii. 53,) which are specially devoted to their honour. As a specimen of the way in which they are addressed, I subjoin a translation (very imperfect, I fear,) of the 159th and part of the 160th hymn of the first book:—

i. 159 (1). "At the sacrifices I worship with offerings Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn.

(2). "With my invocations I celebrate the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty sovereign power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring.

(3). "These skilful energetic sons (the gods?) destined the great Parents for the first adoration. Through the support both of the stationary and moving world, ye two preserve fixed the position of your unswerving son (the sun?).

(4). "These wise and skilful beings (the gods?) have created (?) the kindred twins sprung from the same womb, and occupying the same abode. The brilliant sages stretch in the sky and in the atmosphere an ever-renewed web.

(5). "That desirable wealth we to-day ask through the energy of the divine Savitr: confer on us, O Heaven and Earth, through your good will, wealth with goods, and hundreds of cows."

i. 160 (1). "The brilliant god, the sun, by a fixed ordinance, moves between these two,—the Heaven and Earth,—which are auspicious to all, regular sustainers of the sage (the sun?) of the firmament, well-born, the two hemispheres.

(2). "Widely expanded, vast, unwearied, the Father and the Mother preserve all creatures. The two worlds are defiant, and, as it were, embodied, when the Father invested them with forms.

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(4). "He was the most skilful of the skilful gods who produced these two worlds which are auspicious to all, who, desiring to create an excellent work, meted out these regions and sustained them by undecaying supports.

(5). "Being lauded, may the mighty Heaven and Earth bestow on us great renown and power," etc.

In the hymns Heaven and Earth are characterized by a profusion of epithets, not only such as are suggested by their various physical characteristics, as vastness, breadth, profundity, productiveness (i. 160, 2; i. 185, 7; iv. 56, 3; vi. 70, 1, 2); but also by such as are of a moral or spiritual nature, as innocuous or beneficent, promoters of righteousness, omniscient (i. 159, 1 f.; i. 160, 1; iv. 56, 2; vi. 70, 6). The two together are styled parents, *pitarā* (as in i. 159, 2; iii. 3, 11; vii. 53, 2; x. 65, 8), or *mātarā* (as in ix. 85, 12; x. 1, 7; x. 35, 3;<sup>1</sup> x. 64, 14). In other passages the Heaven is separately styled father, and the Earth mother<sup>2</sup> (as in R.V.

<sup>1</sup> Here they are supplicated to preserve the worshipper sinless. In R.V. vi. 17, 7, they are called *mātarā yajñātasya*, "the great parents of sacrifice."

<sup>2</sup> The appellation of mother is naturally applied to the earth, as the source from which all vegetable products spring, as well as the home of all living crea-

i. 89, 4; i. 90, 7; i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 11; v. 42, 16; vi. 51, 5;<sup>1</sup> vi. 70, 6; vi. 72, 2). But they are regarded as the parents not only of men, but of the gods also, as appears from the various texts where they are designated by the epithet *devaputre*, "having gods for their children" (viz., in i. 106, 3; i. 159, 1; i. 185, 4;<sup>2</sup> iv. 56, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 53, 1; x. 11, 9). In like manner it is said (in vii. 97, 8) that "the divine Heaven and Earth, the parents of the god, have augmented Bṛhaspati by their power;"<sup>3</sup> (in viii. 50, 2) that they "have fashioned the self-resplendent and prolific (Indra) for energy;" and (in x. 2, 7) they are described as having, in conjunction with the waters, and with Tvashṭr, begotten Agni. And in various passages they are said to

tures. This is remarked by Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," in these lines, V. 793 ff. :—

"Nam neque de cælo cecidisse animalia possunt,  
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis:  
Linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta  
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata," etc.

And again, V. 821 :—

"Quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta  
Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit  
Humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit," etc.

And, in illustration of the idea that the Heaven is the father of all things, I may quote his words, ii. 991 :—

"Denique cælesti sumus omnes semine oriundi:  
Omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis  
Umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit,  
Feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta  
Et genus humanum," etc.

And ii. 998 :—

"Qua propter merito maternum nomen adepta est.  
Cedit item retro de terra quod fuit ante,  
In terras, et quod missumst ex ætheris oris  
Id rursum cæli rellatum templa receptant."

See also V. 799 :—

"Quo minus est mirum, si tum sunt plura coorta  
Et majora, novâ tellure atque æthere adulta," etc.

My attention was drawn to these passages by finding them referred to in Professor Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," pp. 236, 247, and 276. On the same subject a recent French writer remarks: "Cent mythologies sont fondées sur le mariage du ciel et de la terre."—"Essais de Critique Religieuse," par Albert Réville, p. 383. The Greek poets also, as Hesiod (Opp. 561), Æschylus (Prom. 90; Septem contra Thebas, 16), Euripides (Hippol. 601) speak in like manner of the earth being the universal mother.

<sup>1</sup> The words of the original here are, *Dyaush pitāh Prithivī Mātār adhrug Agne bhṛātār Vasavo nr̥ṣatā nah*, "Father Heaven, innoxious mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us."

<sup>2</sup> In verse 6 of this hymn they are called *janitri*, "the parents."

<sup>3</sup> In iii. 53, 7, and iv. 2, 15, the Angirases are said to be *divasputrāh*, sons of Dyaus.



have made and to sustain all creatures (as in i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 1), and even to support "the mighty gods" (iii. 54, 8).<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, heaven and earth are spoken of in other places as themselves created. Thus it is said (i. 160, 4; iv. 56, 3), that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artizan of all the gods.<sup>2</sup> Again, Indra is described as their creator (viii. 36, 4); as having formed (?) them (x. 29, 6); as having generated from his own body the father and the mother (by which heaven and earth appear to be intended, x. 54, 3); as having bestowed them on his worshippers (iii. 34, 8); as sustaining and upholding them (iii. 32, 8; vi. 17, 7; x. 55, 1); as grasping them in his hand (iii. 30, 5); as stretching them out like a hide (viii. 6, 5). The same deity is elsewhere (vi. 30, 1) said to transcend heaven and earth, which are equal to only a half of the god;<sup>3</sup> and they are further represented as submitting to his power (vi. 18, 15); as following him as a chariot wheel a horse (viii. 6, 38); as bowing down before him (i. 131, 1);<sup>4</sup> as trembling from fear of him (iv. 17, 2;<sup>5</sup> vi. 17, 9; viii. 86, 14); as being disturbed by his greatness (vii. 23, 3); as subject to his dominion (x. 89, 10). The creation of heaven and earth is also ascribed to other deities, as to Soma and

<sup>1</sup> In one place (vi. 50, 7), the waters are spoken of as mothers (*janitri*) of all things moveable and immoveable. Compare the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in my former article in this Journal, vol. xx., pp. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is, perhaps, primarily meant as an eulogy of the heaven and earth, by expressing that he must have been a most glorious being who was the author of so glorious a production as heaven and earth (see Sāyaṇa on R.V., i. 160, 4, who says, "that having in the previous verse magnified the heaven and earth by lauding their son the sun, the poet now magnifies them by exalting their maker.") But it also appears to intimate that, in the idea of the writer, the heaven and earth were, after all, produced by some greater being. In iv. 17, 4, it is similarly said that "the maker of Indra was a most skilful artist."

<sup>3</sup> In viii. 59, 5, it is said: "If, Indra, a hundred heavens and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor both worlds thy nature."

<sup>4</sup> Heaven (*Dyaus*) is here styled *asuraḥ*, "the divine," as also in iii. 53, 7.

<sup>5</sup> It might at first sight appear as if, according to the fourth verse of this hymn (iv. 17, 4), the Heaven, *Dyaus*, was the father of Indra (see Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 151). But the meaning seems to be: "The Heaven esteemed that thy father was the parent of a heroic son: he was a most skilful artist who made Indra, who produced the celestial thunderer, unshaken, as the world (cannot be shaken) from its place." This is confirmed by verse 1, which says that the Heaven acknowledged Indra's power; and by verse 2, which represents it as trembling at his birth.

Pūshan (ii. 40, 1); to Soma (ix. 90, 1; ix. 98, 9);<sup>1</sup> to Dhātṛ (x. 190, 3); to Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 9); they are declared to have received their shape from Tvashtṛ, though themselves parents (x. 110, 9); to have sprung respectively from the head and the feet of Puruṣa (x. 90, 14); and to be sustained or supported by Mitra (iii. 59, 1), by Savitr (iv. 53, 2; x. 149, 1), by Varuṇa (vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; viii. 42, 1), by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2), by Soma (ix. 87, 2), by Agni (x. 31, 8), and by Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 5). In other passages we encounter various speculations about their origin. In i. 185, 1, the perplexed poet asks, "Which of these two was the first,<sup>2</sup> and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?" In vii. 34, 2, the waters are said to know the birthplace of heaven and earth. In x. 31, 7, the Rishi asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and former dawns have disappeared?" This question is repeated in x. 81, 4;<sup>3</sup> and in the same hymn (verses 2 and 3) the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the sole agency of the god Viśvakarman.<sup>4</sup> In x. 72, which will be referred to further on, a different account is given of the origin of heaven and earth. In R.V. x. 129, 1, it is said that originally there was "nothing either non-existent or existent, no atmosphere or sky beyond;" and in Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 2, 1 ff., it is declared, that "formerly nothing existed, neither heaven, nor atmosphere, nor earth," and their formation is described: "That, being non-existent, thought (*mano 'kuruta*), 'Let me become,' " etc.

It is a conception of the Greek, as well as of the oldest Indian, mythology, that the gods were sprung from Heaven and Earth (Ouranos and Gaia). According to Hesiod (Theog. 116 ff.), Chaos first came into existence; then arose "the

<sup>1</sup> The two worlds, *rodasi*, are here styled *devī*, "divine," and *mānavī*, "descended from Manu."

<sup>2</sup> Sp. Br., xiv. 1, 2, 10, *Iyam pṛthivī bhūtasya prathama-jā*: "This earth is the firstborn of created things."

<sup>3</sup> See also the Taitt. Br., vol. ii., p. 360, where the answer is given, "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree."

<sup>4</sup> See Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv., pp. 4 ff.

broad-bosomed Earth, the firm abode of all things." Heaven and Earth were not, however, according to Hesiod, coeval beings; for "the Earth produced the starry Heaven coextensive with herself, to envelope her on every part." From these two sprang Oceanos, Kronos, the Cyclopes, Rheia, and numerous other children (vv. 132 ff.). From Kronos and Rheia again were produced Zeus, Poseidon, Here, and other deities (vv. 453 ff.<sup>1</sup>). The Indian god who is represented in the Veda as the consort of the Earth and the progenitor of the gods, does not, however, as we have seen, bear the same name as the corresponding divinity among the Greeks, but is called *Dyaus*, or *Dyaush pitar*. But this latter name is in its origin identical with Zeus, or Zeus pater, and Jupiter, or Diespiter, the appellations given to the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans, whom Hesiod represents as the grandson of Ouranos. On the other hand, the name of Ouranos corresponds to that of the Indian deity Varuna, who, though he is not considered as the progenitor of the gods, yet coincides with Ouranos in representing the sky.

## II. THE INDIAN GODS GENERALLY, AS REPRESENTED IN THE RIG VEDA.

While the gods are in some passages of the Rig Veda represented as the offspring of Heaven and Earth, they are in other places, as we have already seen, characterized as independent of those two divinities, and even as their creators. Before proceeding to offer some description of the powers, functions, characters, history, and mutual relations of these deities, I shall give some account of the general conceptions entertained by the Vedic poets and some later Indian writers, regarding their origin, duration, numbers, and classes.

The following classification of the Vedic gods is adduced by Yaska in his Nirukta, (vii. 5) as being that given by the ancient expositors who preceded him: "There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda (*Nairuktâh*), viz., Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vâyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere; and Sûrya (the sun),

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Homer II. xv. 187 ff.

whose place is in the sky.<sup>1</sup> These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotr*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, *udgâtr*, are applied to one and the same person, [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling."<sup>2</sup> Pursuing the triple classification here indicated, Yâska proceeds in the latter part of his work to divide the different deities, or forms of the same deities, specified in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka or Vocabulary, which is prefixed to his work, into the three orders of terrestrial (Nirukta vii. 14—ix. 43), intermediate or atmospheric (x. 1—xi. 50), and celestial (xii. 1—46). I shall not reproduce these lists, which could not in some places be thoroughly understood without explanation, as they include several deities whose precise character, and identification with other deities are disputed, and embrace a number of objects which are not gods at all, but are constructively regarded as such from their being addressed in the hymns.<sup>3</sup>

The gods are spoken of in various texts of the Rig Veda as being thirty-three in number. Thus it is said in R.V. i. 34, 11 : "Come hither, Nâsatyas, Aṣvins, together with the thrice eleven gods,<sup>4</sup> to drink our nectar."

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. x. 158. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is quoted more at length in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 133 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the manner in which Yâska classifies the hymns. I quote the classification as interesting, though unconnected with my present subject :—He divides (Nir. vii. 1) the hymns, or portions of hymns, devoted to the praise of the gods into three classes, viz., (1) those in which the gods are addressed in the third person as absent, as "Indra rules over heaven and earth," etc.; (2) those which address them in the second person as present, such as "O Indra, slay thou our enemies," etc.; and (3) those in which the author speaks in the first person, and about himself. Of these the first two classes are the most numerous. Again, some of the hymns are merely laudatory (as, "I declare the valorous deeds of Indra"); others contain prayers, not praises, as "may I see clearly with my eyes, be radiant in my face, and hear distinctly with my ears." Again, there are imprecations, as "may I die to-day, if I am a Yâtudhâna," etc. Again, a particular state of things is described, as "there was then neither death nor immortality." Again, a lamentation is uttered, as, "the bright god will fly away and never return." Or, praise and blame are expressed, as "he who eats alone, is alone in his guilt," (x. 117. 6), and "the house of the liberal man is like a pond where lotuses grow" (x. 107. 10); and in the same way in the hymn to Dice gambling is reprehended, and agriculture praised. "Thus the views with which the rishis beheld the hymns were very various."

<sup>4</sup> That is, as Sâyaṇa explains, those included in the three classes, consisting each of eleven gods, specified in the verse (i. 139. 11), "Ye eleven gods who exist in the sky," etc.

Again, in i. 45, 2: "Agni, the wise gods lend an ear to their worshipper. God with the ruddy steeds, who lovest praise, bring hither those three and thirty."

i. 139, 11. "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory<sup>1</sup> are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering."

viii. 28, 1. "May the three over thirty gods who have visited our sacrificial grass, recognize us, and give us double."<sup>2</sup>

viii. 30, 2. "Ye who are the three and thirty gods worshipped by Manu, when thus praised, ye become the destroyers of our foes."

viii. 35, 3. "Aṣvins, associated with all the thrice eleven gods, with the Waters, the Maruts, the Bhṛguś, and united with the Dawn and the Sun, drink the Soma."

ix. 92, 4. "O pure Soma, all these gods, thrice eleven in number, are in thy secret," etc.<sup>3</sup>

This number of thirty-three gods is in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iv. 5, 7, 2), explained as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas, together with Heaven and Earth; or according to another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5), together with Indra and Prajāpati, instead of Heaven and Earth.

This enumeration could not have been the one contemplated in the hymns, as we have seen that one of the texts above quoted (R.V. i. 139, 11) assigns eleven deities, who must have been all of the same class, to each of the three spheres sky, atmosphere and earth.<sup>4</sup> It is also clear that this number of thirty-three gods could not have embraced the whole of the Vedic deities, as in some of the preceding texts Agni, the

<sup>1</sup> On this Sāyana remarks, "Although, according to the text, 'There are only three gods,' (Nirukta, vii. 5), the deities who represent the earth, etc., are but three, still through their greatness, i.e. their respective varied manifestations, they amount to thirty-three, according to the saying, 'other manifestations of Him exist in different places.' " Compare Sp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 4, ff.

<sup>2</sup> Roth says that *devitā* does not mean *double*, but *assuredly, especially*.

<sup>3</sup> This number of thirty-three gods is referred to in a hymn to the sun in the Mahābhārata iii. 171, as joining in the worship of that deity: *Trayas trīṣaś cha vai devāḥ*. See also v. 14019, of the same 3rd book; book iv. v. 1769; and book xiii. v. 7102. See also the Sp. Br. xii. 8, 3, 29. The Taittiriya Saṁhitā ii. 3, 5, 1, says that Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave in marriage to Soma. See also R. V. viii. 39, 9, Vākhilya 9, 2.

<sup>4</sup> On this division of the universe into three domains, see the remarks of Prof. Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races." Jour. Germ. Or. Society, 1852, p. 68.



Aśvins, and the Maruts are separately specified, as if distinct from the thirty-three. Further, Indra could not have been, in the opinion of the author of the Brāhmaṇa, one of the twelve Ādityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of thirty-three gods.

In the R.V. iii. 39, the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni,"<sup>1</sup> etc.

In another passage (i. 27, 13) the gods are spoken of as divided into great and small, young and old: "Reverence to the great, reverence to the small: reverence to the young, reverence to the old. Let us worship the gods if we are able; may I not, O gods, neglect the praise of the greatest."

I am not aware, however, that this latter classification of the gods is alluded to in any other of the hymns.

In the Rig Veda the gods, though spoken of as immortal (as in i. 24, 1; i. 72, 2, 10; i. 189, 3; iii. 21, 1; iv. 42, 1; x. 13, 1; x. 69, 9), are not, as we have already seen, regarded in general as unbeginning or self-existent beings. I have referred above to the passages in which they are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, and Anṣa are designated, in R.V. ii. 27, 1, and elsewhere, as Ādityas, or sons of Aditi. The birth of Indra is mentioned in various texts, and his father and mother are alluded to, though not generally named<sup>2</sup> (iv. 17, 4, 12; iv. 18, 5; vi. 59, 2; viii. 66, 1; x. 134, 1 ff.).

In iv. 54, 2, it is said that Savitr bestowed immortality on the gods. I have quoted elsewhere a number of passages

<sup>1</sup> The commentator remarks here that the number of the gods is declared in the Bhāḍ Āraṇyaka Upanishad. See pp. 642 ff. of the text of this Upanishad, printed in the Bibl. Ind.; and pp. 205 ff. of the English translation in the same series. The same passage occurs in nearly the same words in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In R.V. x. 110, 12, a goddess called *Nishtigri* is mentioned, apparently as the mother of Indra: *Nishtigryāḥ putram ā chyāvaya itaye Indram*, "draw hither Indra the son of Nishtigri to aid us," etc. Sāyana in this passage identifies her with Aditi, viz.: "She who swallows up her rival wife *Nishti*, i.e. Diti." Indra is in fact addressed as an Āditya along with Varuṇa in vii. 85, 4. He is not, however, as we have seen above, considered as such in the Śp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5, where he is mentioned as distinct from the 12 Ādityas.

from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in which it is related how they became immortal; and how, though of the same parentage, and originally on a footing of equality, with the Asuras, they became superior to them.<sup>1</sup> (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 47-53; and the Journal of this Society, vol. xx. pp. 41-5.)

According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa they obtained their divine rank by austerity, *tapasā devā devatām agre āyan* (vol. iii. p. 276). Even in one of the later hymns of the Rīg Veda, Indra is said to have conquered heaven by the same means (x. 167, 1.) This immortality is, however, only a relative one, as according to the Puranic conception the gods are only a portion of the existing system of the universe, and are therefore subject, as regards their corporeal part, to the same law of dissolution as other beings. (See Professor Wilson's Sāṅkhya Kārikā, p. 15). Thus, in a verse quoted in the commentary on the Sāṅkhya Kārikā (See Wilson's S. K. p. 14) it is said: "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through (the power of) time, passed away in every mundane age; for time is hard to overcome." And in the Sāṅkhya Aphorisms, iii. 53, it is said that "the suffering arising from decay and death is common to all;" which the commentator interprets to mean that such suffering is "the common lot of all beings, both those who go upwards and those who go downwards, from Brahmā to things without motion." The souls which have animated the gods, however, like those which animate all other corporeal beings, being eternal and imperishable, must of course survive all such dissolutions, to be either born again in other forms, or become absorbed in the supreme Brahma. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Pur., p. 632, note 7; and my Sanskrit Texts, iii. 66, where it is shewn, on the authority of the Brahma Sūtras or of Śankara their commentator, that the gods both desire and are capable of final emancipation).

I shall now proceed to give some account of the origin and characters of the other principal deities as represented in the Rīg Veda.

<sup>1</sup> In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 4, 2, 1, it is said that all creatures came to Prajāpati, and asked that they might live. To the gods he said, "Sacrifice is your food, immortality is your support, the sun is your light," etc.

## III. ADITI.

I begin with Aditi, who is the principal and almost the only goddess (the only one I have noticed except Nishṭigṛī<sup>1</sup> and Ushas) specified by name in the R. V. as the mother of any of the gods.

Though not the subject of any separate hymn, she is an object of frequent celebration in the Rig Veda, where she is supplicated for various physical blessings (as in i. 43, 2), for protection, and for forgiveness. She is represented, as we have just seen, as the mother of Varuṇa and some of the other principal deities. In the Nighantu, or vocabulary prefixed to the Nirukta, the word Aditi is given as a synonym (1) of *prthivī*, the earth; (2) of *vāc*, voice; (3) of *go*, cow;<sup>2</sup> and (4) in the dual, of *dyāvā-prthivyau*, heaven and earth (Nigh. i. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 30). In the Nirukta (iv. 22) she is defined as the mighty mother of the gods (*adīnā deva-mātā*).<sup>3</sup> In another part (xi. 22) of the same work (where, as I have said, the different gods are taken up in the order in which they are found in the list in the Nighantu, chap. 5) she is placed at the head of the female divinities of the intermediate region. In numerous texts of the R. V., Aditi is styled the "goddess," or the "divine" (as in iv. 55, 7; v. 51, 11; vi. 50, 1; vii. 38, 4; vii. 40, 2; viii. 25, 10; viii. 27, 5; viii. 56, 10), the "irresistible goddess" (*devī Aditir anarvā*, ii. 40, 6; vii. 40, 4; x. 92, 14), "the luminous,"<sup>4</sup> the supporter of creatures, the celestial" (*jyotiṣmatim Aditim dhārayat-kṣhitim*<sup>5</sup> *svareatim*, i. 136, 3), the "widely expanded" (*uru-vyachāh*, v. 46, 6), the "friend of all men" (*viśva-janyām*, vii. 10, 4). In v. 69, 3, the rishi exclaims: "In the morning I continually invoke the divine Aditi, at mid-day, at the rising

<sup>1</sup> See the last foot note but one.

<sup>2</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 90, 15, *gām anagām aditim*; and Vaj. Sanh. xiii. 43 and 49.

<sup>3</sup> In R. V. i. 113, 19, Ushas (the dawn) is styled "the mother of the gods, and the manifestation of Aditi;" or, as Sāyaṇa explains, the rival of Aditi, from her appearing to call all the gods into existence when they are worshipped in the morning, as Aditi really gave them birth. Compare i. 115, 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Roth in Jour. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69; and compare R. V. vii. 82, 10; "We celebrate the beneficent light of Aditi," etc.

<sup>5</sup> The same epithet, *dhārayat-kṣhitī*, is, in R. V. x. 132, 2, applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, the sons of Aditi.

‘(setting ?) of the sun.’ In i. 185, 3, her gifts—pure, unassailable, celestial—are supplicated; and in another place (i. 166, 12) the large blessings conferred by the Maruts are compared to the beneficent deeds of Aditi. In iv. 55, 3, she is styled Pastyâ, which Prof. Roth understands to mean a household goddess. In the Vâj. S. she is thus celebrated, 21, 5 (=A.V. vii. 6, 2): “Let us invoke to aid us the great mother of the devout, the mistress of the ceremonial, the strong in might, the undecaying, the widely-extended, the protecting, the skilfully guiding Aditi.” The following are some of the texts in which she is described as the mother of Varuṇa and the other kindred gods :

viii. 25, 3. “The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power.”

viii. 47, 9. “May Aditi defend us, may Aditi, the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuṇa, grant us protection.” See also x. 36, 3, and x. 132, 6.

In R.V. ii. 27, 7, she is styled *rāja-putrā*,<sup>1</sup> “the mother of kings;” in iii. 4, 11, *su-putrā*, “the mother of excellent sons;” in viii. 56, 11, as *ugra-putrā*, “the mother of powerful sons;” and in Atharva Veda, iii. 8, 2; xi. 1, 11, “the divine Aditi, mother of heroes” (*śūra-putrā*). All these epithets have obviously reference to Varuṇa and the other Âdityas as her offspring.

In the Sâma Veda, the brothers as well as the sons of Aditi appear to be mentioned, i. 299 : “May Tvashṭr, Parjanya, and Brahmanaspati [preserve] our divine utterance. May Aditi with (her) sons and brothers preserve our invincible and protective utterance.”<sup>2</sup>

In another passage of the R.V. x. 63, 2, Aditi is thus mentioned, along with the waters, and the earth, as one of the sources from which the gods had been generated : “All your names, ye gods, are to be revered, adored, and worshipped ;

<sup>1</sup> In ii. 27, 1, the epithet *rājābhyoḥ*, “kings,” is applied to all the six Âdityas there named.

<sup>2</sup> Benfey, however, understands the sons and brothers to be those of the worshipper.

ye who were born from Aditi,<sup>1</sup> from the waters, ye who are born from the earth, listen here to my invocation." In this passage we appear to find the same triple classification of gods as celestial, intermediate, and terrestrial, which we have already met with in R.V. i. 139, 11,<sup>2</sup> and in the Nirukta. The gods mentioned in the verse before us as sprung from Aditi, might thus correspond to the celestial gods, among whom the Âdityas are specified by Yâska as the first class, or to the Âdityas alone.<sup>3</sup>

The hymn before us proceeds in the next verse (x. 63, 3) "Gladden for our well-being those Âdityas, magnified in hymns, . . . energetic, to whom their mother the sky, Aditi, (or the infinite sky),<sup>4</sup> dwelling in the aerial mountains, supplies the sweet ambrosial fluid." This verse, in which Aditi is either identified with, or regarded as an epithet of, the sky, appears rather to confirm the view I have taken of the one which precedes. The tenor of R.V. x. 65, 9, quoted in a previous foot-note (<sup>2</sup>), seems, however, opposed to this identification of Aditi with the sky, as she and her sons the Âdityas are there mentioned separately from the other gods who are the inhabitants of the three different spheres; though the last named classification may be meant to sum up all the gods before enumerated, and so to comprehend the Âdityas also.

But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages it is intended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification

<sup>1</sup> Roth, in his Lexicon, understands the word Aditi in this passage to mean "infinity," the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the limitation of earth.

<sup>2</sup> The same threefold origin of the gods, together with the use of the word "waters," to denote the intermediate region, is found also in x. 49, 2, where it is said: "The gods, both those who are the offspring of the sky, of the earth, and of the [atmospheric] waters, have assigned to me the name of Indra;" and in x. 65, 9, after mentioning Parjanya, Vâta, Indra, Vâyu, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, the poet says: "We invoke the divine Âdityas, Aditi, those (gods) who are terrestrial, celestial, who (exist) in the atmospheric waters." The word "waters" is used in the sense of atmosphere, in ii. 38, 11; viii. 43, 2; and x. 45, 1. Compare also vii. 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Nirukta xii. 35: *Âthâto dyusthânâ devaganâh | teshâm Âdityâh prathamâ-gâmîno bhavanti* |

<sup>4</sup> The word for "sky" here is *Dyaus*, which must therefore be in this passage regarded as feminine, though, as we have seen, it is generally masculine, and designated as *father*. In v. 69, 8, the words *dyaus* and *aditi* are similarly united: *mimâtu dyaus aditih*, etc.



is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a synonyme of the Earth. For although, as we have seen, Aditi is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the names of the Earth, and in the dual as equivalent to Heaven and Earth, and though in R.V. i. 72, 9, and Atharva Veda, xiii. 1, 38, she appears to be identified with the Earth,<sup>1</sup> we find her in many passages of the Rig Veda mentioned separately, and as if she were distinct from both the one and the other. Thus, in iii. 54, 19, 20, it is said: "May the Earth and the Heaven hear us . . . . May Aditi with the Âdityas hear us:" v. 46, 3: "I invoke Aditi, Heaven (*svah*), Earth, Sky," etc.; vi. 51, 5: "Father Heaven, beneficent mother Earth . . . . be gracious to us; all ye Âdityas, Aditi, united, grant us mighty protection;" ix. 97, 58: "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Ocean, Earth, and Heaven increase this to us;" x. 64, 4: "Aditi, Heaven and Earth," etc.; x. 36, 2: "Heaven and Earth, the wise and pious, protect us," etc.; . . . . 3: "May Aditi, the mother of Mitra and the opulent Varuṇa, preserve us from every calamity." See also x. 92, 11. The most distinct text of all, however, is x. 63, 10: "(We invoke) the excellent protectress the Earth, the faultless Heaven, the sheltering and guiding Aditi: let us ascend for our well-being the divine bark, well rowed, free from imperfection, which never leaks."<sup>2</sup> Vâj. S. xviii. 22: "May Earth, and Aditi, and Diti, and Heaven, etc., etc., satisfy him with my sacrifice," etc.

In the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, indeed, it is said (ii. 2, 1, 19): "Aditi is this earth; she is this supporter," etc.; and in another passage (v. 3, 1, 4): "Aditi is this earth; she is the wife of the gods." (See also viii. 2, 1, 10; xi. 1, 3, 3). But this seems to be a later view.

I have already mentioned that Aditi is placed by Yâska at the head of the goddesses of the intermediate region. If, however, the same ancient writer has done rightly in

<sup>1</sup> R.V. i. 72, 9: "The earth, the mother, Aditi stood in power with her mighty sons for the support of the bird." The word *aditi* may, however, be here an epithet. A.V. xiii. 1, 38: *Yasâh prthivyâ Adityâ upasthe*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This verse occurs also in the Vâj. S. xxi. 6; and Ath. V. vii. 6, 3.

placing the Âdityas among the deities of the celestial sphere (Nir. xii. 35), Aditi their mother ought surely to have found her place in the same class, as it is scarcely conceivable that the composers of the hymn should have thought of thus separating the parent from her offspring. But Yâska is here merely following the order of the list of words (for it can hardly be called a classification) which he found in the fifth chapter of the Nighaṇṭu; and in following this list (to which he no doubt attached a certain authority) he has had to specify Varuṇa, who is twice named in it, not only among the celestial gods (xii. 21), among whom as an Âditya he was properly ranked, but also among the gods of the intermediate region<sup>1</sup> (x. 3).

In the following verse Aditi is named along with another goddess or personification, Diti, who, from the formation of her name, appears to be intended as an antithesis, or as a complement, to Aditi (v. 62, 8): "Ye, Mitra and Varuṇa, ascend your car, of golden form at the break of dawn, (your car) with iron supports at the setting<sup>2</sup> of the sun, and thence ye behold Aditi and Diti."<sup>3</sup> Sâyaṇa here understands Aditi of the earth as an indivisible whole, and Diti as representing the separate creatures on its surface. In his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races" (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71), Professor Roth translates these two words by "the eternal," and "the perishable." In his Lexicon, however, the same author (*s.v.*) describes Diti "as a goddess associated with Aditi, without any distinct conception, and merely, as it appears, as a contrast to her." Aditi may, however, here

<sup>1</sup> Roth, in his remarks on Nir. x. 4, offers the following explanation of this circumstance: "Varuṇa who, of all the gods, ought to have been assigned to the highest sphere, appears here in the middle rank, because, among his creative and regulative functions, the direction of the waters in the heavens is one."

<sup>2</sup> I here follow Roth, who, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71, and in his Lexicon, renders the word *udîtâ śrīyasya* here by "setting of the sun." Sâyaṇa goes the length of explaining this phrase by *aparāhṇa*, "afternoon," in his note on v. 76, 3, though not in the passage before us.

<sup>3</sup> These two words, *aditi* and *diti*, occur also in a passage of the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ (x. 16), which is partly the same as the present. The concluding clause (*tataḥ cakṣhātām aditīm ditiñcha*) is thus explained by the commentator: "Thence behold [o Varuṇa and Mitra] the man who is not poor (*aditi=adina*), i.e. who observes the prescribed ordinances, and him who is poor (*diti=dina*), who follows the practices of the atheists."

represent the sky, and Diti the earth; or, if we are right in understanding the verse before us to describe two distinct appearances of Mitra and Varuṇa, one at the rising and the other at the setting of the sun, Aditi might possibly stand for the whole of nature as seen by day, and Diti for the creation as seen by night. At all events the two together appear to be put by the poet for the entire aggregate of visible nature.<sup>1</sup> Diti occurs again as a goddess, but without Aditi, in another place (vii. 15, 12): "You, Agni, and the divine Savitr and Bhaga, (bestow) renown with descendants; and Diti confers what is desirable." Sāyaṇa here explains Diti as meaning a particular goddess. Roth (*s.v.*) considers her to be a personification of liberality or opulence. Diti is also mentioned along with Aditi as a goddess, A.V. xv. 6, 7, and xv. 18, 4; Vāj. S. xviii. 22; and in A.V. vii. 7, 1, her sons are mentioned. These sons, the Daityas, are well known in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the gods.

In the following remarkable verse Aditi embraces and represents the whole of nature. She is the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future (i. 89, 10): "Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the intermediate firmament; Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes;<sup>2</sup> Aditi is whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words *aditi* and *diti* occur together in another passage, iv. 2, 11 (*ditiṇcha rāsva aditim uruṣhā*), where Sāyaṇa translates *diti* by "the liberal man," and *aditi* by the *illiberal*, while Roth renders them by "wealth" and "penury" respectively.

<sup>2</sup> In another place, vi. 51, 11, Aditi is invoked, along with Indra, the earth, the ground (*kshāma*), Pūshan, Bhaga, and the five tribes (*pañchajānāḥ*), to bestow blessings. Are the "five tribes" to be understood here, and in R.V. x. 53, 4, 5, with some old commentators (see Nir. iii. 8) of the Gandharvas, Pitṛs, Devas, Asuras, and Rākshasas; or with the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa on i. 89, 10, of gods, men, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, serpents, and Pitṛs (the Gandharvas and Apsarasas being taken as one class)? Perhaps we should rather understand the term as denoting the whole pantheon, or a particular portion of it. In R.V. x. 55, 3, *pañcha devāḥ*, the five gods, or classes of gods (?), are mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Roth, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 68 f., has the following observations on Aditi and the Ādityas. "There (in the highest heaven) dwell and reign those gods who bear in common the name of Ādityas. We must, however, if we would discover their earliest character, abandon the conceptions which in a later age, and even in that of the heroic poems, were entertained regarding these deities. According to this conception they were twelve sun-gods, bearing evident reference to the twelve months. But for the most ancient period we must

Sāyana states that here Aditi is either the earth, or the mother of the gods, and that she is lauded under the character of universal nature.<sup>1</sup> Yāska says (Nir. iv. 2, 3), that the variety of Aditi's manifestations (*vibhūti*) is here set forth. This text occurs at the end of a hymn addressed to all the gods, and does not appear to have any connexion with the verses which precede, from which it derives no elucidation.<sup>2</sup>

The signification, "earth" or "nature," may be that in which the word Aditi is employed in R.V. i. 24, 1, 2: "of which god, now, of which of all the immortals, shall we invoke the amiable name? who shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother? 2. Let us invoke the amiable name of the divine Agni, the first of the immortals; he shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother." These words are declared in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to have been uttered by Sunahṣepa when he was about to be immolated (see Professor Wilson's Essay in the Journal of this Society, xiii. 100; Professor Roth's paper in Weber's Indische Studien, i. 46). and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff.). Whether this be correct or not, the words may be understood as spoken by some one in danger of death from sickness or otherwise, who prayed to be permitted again to behold the

hold fast the primary signification of their name. They are the inviolable, imperishable, eternal beings. Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains them and is sustained by them. This conception of Aditi, from its nature, has not been carried out into a distinct personification in the Vedas, though the beginnings of such are not wanting, whilst later ages assume without difficulty a goddess Aditi, with the Âdityas for her sons, without seriously enquiring further whence this goddess herself comes."

<sup>1</sup> M. Ad. Regnier, *Étude sur l'idiome des Vedas*, p. 28, remarks: "Aditi is the name of a divinity, a personification of the *All*, the mother of the gods."

<sup>2</sup> There is a hymn (x. 100)—addressed to different gods, and where they are invoked in succession—in which the words *ā sarvatātīm aditīm vṛṇīmahe* form the conclusion of all the verses except the last. The precise meaning of these words was not very clear to me, especially as they have no necessary connection with the preceding portions of the different stanzas in which they occur. But Professor Aufrecht suggests that the verb *vṛṇīmahe* governs a double accusative, and that the words mean "We ask Aditi for *sarvatātī*," (whatever that may mean). In an ingenious excursus on R.V. i. 94, 15 (*Orient und Occident*, ii. 519 ff.), Professor Benfey regards the word as coming originally from the same root as the Latin *sāuit*, of which he supposes the primitive form to have been *salvotāt*, and to have the same signification. This sense certainly suits the context of the four passages on which principally he founds it, viz., i. 106, 2; iii. 54, 11; ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14. He has not noticed the hymn before us.

face of nature. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *mahī*, "great," applied in this verse to Aditi, which would not be so suitable if, with Roth (*s.v.*), we understood the word here in the sense of "freedom" or "security."<sup>1</sup> If we should understand the father and mother whom the suppliant is anxious to behold, as meaning heaven and earth (see above), it would become still more probable that Aditi is to be understood as meaning "nature."

Whatever may be thought of Benfey's interpretation of this word, as given in the last note, the goddess Aditi is undoubtedly in many other texts connected with the idea of deliverance from sin. Thus at the end of this same hymn (i. 24, 15) it is said: "Varuṇa, loose us from the uppermost, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, O Āditya, by thy ordinance, be without sin against Aditi."

The same reference is also found in the following texts:

- i. 162, 22: "May Aditi make us sinless."
- ii. 27, 14: "Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, be gracious, if we have committed any sin against you."
- iv. 12, 4: "Whatever offence we have, through our folly, committed against thee among men, O youngest of the gods, make us free from sin against Aditi, take our sins altogether away, O Agni."
- v. 82, 6: "May we be free from sin against Aditi through the impulsion of the divine Savitr."
- vii. 87, 7: "May we, fulfilling the ordinances of Aditi, be sinless in Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin."
- vii. 93, 7: "Whatever sin we have committed, be thou

<sup>1</sup> Benfey in his translation of the hymn (*Orient und Occident*, i. 33), though he treats Aditi as a proper name, yet explains it as denoting "sinlessness." The abstract noun *aditīva* occurs along with *anāgāstva*, "sinlessness," in the following line (vii. 51, 1): *anāgāstve aditīve turāsa imam yajñam dadhātu sroshamānāḥ*, "May the mighty gods, listening to us, preserve this ceremony in sinlessness, and prosperity." Though *aditīva* is joined with *anāgāstva*, it does not follow that it must have the same sense.—In the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upanishad*, p. 53 ff., the name of Aditi is explained from the root *ad*, to eat: "Whatever he created, he began to eat: for Aditi derives her name from this, that she eats every thing."—Aditi is an epithet of Agni in R.V. iv. 1, 20; vii. 9, 3; and x. 11, 2; of Aryaman in ix. 81, 5; and of Dyaus in x. 11, 1. In vii. 52, 1, the worshippers ask that they may be *aditayāḥ*, which Sāyana renders by *akhaṇḍanīyāḥ*, "invincible."



(Agni) compassionate: may Aryaman and Aditi remove it from us."

x. 12, 8: "May Mitra here, may Aditi, may the divine Savitrī declare us sinless to Varuṇa."

x. 36, 3: "May Aditi preserve us from all sin [or calamity]," etc.

In these passages, where Aditi is supplicated for forgiveness of sin, we might suppose that she was regarded as the great power which wields the forces of the universe, and controls the destinies of men by moral laws. But this supposition is weakened by the fact that many others of the gods are in the same way petitioned for pardon, as Savitrī (iv. 54, 3) and other deities, as the Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (x. 35, 2, 3), Agni (iii. 54, 19).

Though, as we have seen, Aditi is regarded as the mother of some of the principal Vedic deities, she is yet, in other texts, represented as playing a subordinate part.

Thus, in vii. 38, 4, she is mentioned as celebrating the praises of Savitrī, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman; and in viii. 12, 14, she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra.

In a hymn of the tenth book (the 72nd), supposed from its contents to be of a comparatively late date, the process of creation is described at greater length than in any earlier passage, and the share which Aditi took in it is not very intelligibly set forth:<sup>1</sup> "1. Let us, in chaunted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them. 2. Brahmanaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. 5. For

<sup>1</sup> I have already given this translation in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 10, 11, but repeat it here, with some variations, for the sake of completeness. See (ibid. p. 12) the explanation of verses 4, 5, given by Professor Rōth; and the passage quoted from him above.

Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality. 6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated, upon those waters, then a violent dust<sup>1</sup> issued from you, as from dancers. 7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men,<sup>2</sup> replenished the worlds, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (ethereal?) ocean. 8. Of the eight sons<sup>3</sup> of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa (the eighth). 9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation : she again produced Mārttāṇḍa for birth as well as for death."<sup>4</sup>

Yāska has the following remarks on verse 4 of this hymn in the Nirukta, xi. 23 : "Daksha is, they say, an Âditya (or son of Aditi), and is praised among the Âdityas. And Aditi is, on the other hand, the daughter of Daksha (according to this text), '*Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.*' How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other, and have derived their substance from each other."

The concurrence of both Daksha and Aditi in the production of some of the gods is alluded to in two other texts :

x. 5, 7 : "Being a thing both non-existent and existent in the highest heaven, in the creation of Daksha and in the womb of Aditi,<sup>5</sup> Agni is our firstborn of the ceremony," etc.

x. 64, 5 : "At the creation, the work of Daksha,<sup>6</sup> thou, O Aditi, ministerest to the kings Mitra and Varuṇa," etc.

Daksha, though, as we shall see, he is generally regarded as one of the Âdityas, is also (if we are to follow the commentators) sometimes represented as their father, or at least as the father of some of the gods. Thus it is said in vi. 50, 2, "O mighty Sūrya, visit in sinlessness the resplendent gods,

<sup>1</sup> Compare R.V. iv. 42, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Yatayah.* See R.V. viii. 6, 18; and Sāma V. ii. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Compare A.V. viii. 9. 21 : *ashṭa-yonir Âdītir ashṭa-putrā* |

<sup>4</sup> The last words seem to refer to the name Mārttāṇḍa, a word compounded of *mārtta*, derived apparently from *mṛita*, "dead," and *āṇḍa*, "an egg," regarded as a place of birth.

<sup>5</sup> *Dakshasya janmann Âdīter upasthe.*

<sup>6</sup> *Dakshasya vā Âdīte janmani vrate.*

the sons of Daksha,<sup>1</sup> who have two births, are holy, true, celestial, adorable, and have Agni on their tongues."

vii. 66, 2. "Which two wise gods, the mighty sons of Daksha (*i.e.* Mitra and Varuṇa) the deities have established to exercise divine rule."<sup>2</sup>

In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, i. 2, 3, 1 (p. 309 in Bibl. Ind.), the same epithet is applied to the gods: "May those deities who are mind-born, mind-exerting, intelligent, who have Daksha for their father,<sup>3</sup> protect and deliver us," etc.

Some doubt may be thrown on the correctness of taking Daksha in the preceding passages to represent a person, from the fact that in R.V. viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are not only called the "strong sons of Daksha" (*sṁnā Dakshasya sukratū*), but also the "grandsons of mighty strength" (*napātā śavaso mahāḥ*). But even if the word Daksha be taken figuratively in this passage, it may represent a person in the others; for there is no doubt that Daksha is sometimes a proper name, whilst this is never the case, so far as I know, with *śavas*. There is another obscure passage (iii. 27, 9, 10 = S.V. ii. 827) in which Daksha may be a proper name.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 2, Daksha is identified with Prajāpati, or the creator.<sup>4</sup>

The part which he plays in the later mythology may be seen by consulting Prof. Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 49, 54 ff., 115-122, and 348. According to the first account he is one of Brahmā's mind-born sons (p. 49), and marries Prasūti (p. 54), who bears to him twenty-four daughters, among whom Aditi is not specified. In the second account,

<sup>1</sup> The word so rendered is *Daksha-pitarah*, "having Daksha for their father." Śāyana explains it as meaning "those who have Daksha for their forefather."

<sup>2</sup> Śāyana here departs from the interpretation he had given on vi. 50, 2, and explains *Daksha-pitarā* as = *balasya pālakaḥ svāminau vā*, "preservers, or lords, of strength."

<sup>3</sup> The commentator explains the word *Daksha-pitarah* as = *Dakṣaḥ prajāpatir utpādako yeshām te*, those of whom the Prajāpati Daksha is the generator. The meaning of *Daksha-pitarah* in R.V. viii. 52, 10 is not very clear. Śāyana takes it to mean the preservers or lords of food. It may, however, be taken as a vocative, and applied to the gods. The word also occurs in Vāj. S. xiv. 3, where the commentator understands it to signify *virasya pālayitri*, "preserver of strength."

<sup>4</sup> See the paper in a former vol. of this Journal, xx. 40. In the sequel of the passage in the Ś. P. Br. ii. 4, 4, 6, a person named Daksha, the son of Parvata, is mentioned.

however, (p. 122) Aditi is mentioned as one of his sixty daughters who, along with Diti, Danu, and ten others, is said to have been given in marriage to Kaśyapa, to whom she (Aditi) bore the twelve Ādityas. According to the third account (p. 348), Aditi is said to be the daughter of Daksha, and the mother of Viśvasvat, the Sun. In a passage in one of the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel, i. 31, Calc. ed. i. 29), in the Mahābhārata, and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 16, 1 ff., Aditi is described as the wife of Kaśyapa, and the mother of Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation. (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 116 ff.)

An older authority, however, the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, gives quite a different account of the relation of Aditi to Viṣṇu, as it (xxix. 60) represents her to be his wife (*Ādityai Viṣṇu-patnyai charuḥ*).

#### IV. THE ĀDITYAS.

The sons of Aditi specified in R.V. ii. 27, 1, are these six: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Daksha, and Anṣa. In ix. 114, 3, the Ādityas are spoken of as seven in number, but their names are not mentioned.<sup>1</sup> In x. 72, 8, 9, already cited above, it is declared that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she only presented seven to the gods, casting out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth, though she is said to have afterwards brought him forward. Here, again, the names of the rest are omitted. Sūrya is, however, spoken of as an Āditya in R.V. i. 50, 12; i. 191, 9; viii. 90, 11, 12;<sup>2</sup> and as an Āditeya (this word equally means 'son of Aditi'), identified with Agni, he is said (x. 88, 11),<sup>3</sup> to have been placed by the gods in the sky. In viii. 18, 3, Savitr is named along with Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, four of the Ādityas, after that

<sup>1</sup> See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 101 ff., where these and many other passages relating to the Ādityas are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> The last-mentioned text is as follows: *Baṇ mahān asi Sūrya baḥ Āditya mahān asi | . . . . Baḥ Sūrya ṛavasā mahān asi |* "O great art thou, Sūrya! O son of Aditi, thou art great! . . . . O Sūrya, in renown thou art great," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Yadeṣ enam adadhur yajñīyāso divi devāḥ Sūryam Āditeyam.* In x. 37, 1, however, the Sun is called the Son of the Heaven (*divas putrāya*); and there as well as elsewhere he is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa.

class of deities had been celebrated generally in the preceding verse. *Sûrya* or *Savitṛ* therefore appears to have a certain claim to be considered the seventh *Âditya* (compare A.V. xiii. 2, 9, and 37, where the sun is called the son of *Aditi*). We have seen above that *Indra* also is in one passage (vii. 85, 4), addressed as an *Âditya* along with *Varuṇa*.

In the *Taittiriya Veda* (quoted by *Sāyaṇa* on R.V. ii. 27, 1) the *Âdityas* are said to be eight in number: *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Dhâtṛ*, *Aryaman*, *Anṣu*, *Bhaga*, *Indra*, and *Vivasvat*. Here five names correspond with those given in R.V. ii. 27, 1, while *Dhâtṛ* is substituted for *Dakṣa*, who is omitted, and two names are added, *Vivasvat* (who may be identified with *Sûrya*) and *Indra*. In one place (iii. 1, 3, 3) the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* speaks of the *Âdityas* as eight; but in two other passages (vi. 1, 2, 8; xi. 6, 3, 8) as being twelve in number. In the first of these two latter texts they are said to have sprung from twelve drops generated by *Prajâpati* (in which case they could not have been sons of *Aditi*), and in the second they are identified with the twelve months.<sup>1</sup> In the later Indian literature they are always said to be twelve (see the passages quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," iv. 101-106).

In some of the hymns where the *Âdityas* are celebrated, they are characterized by the epithets "bright," "golden," "pure," "sinless," "blameless," "holy," "strong," (*kṣatriyâḥ*, viii. 56, 1), "kings," "resistless," "vast," (*uravah*) "deep," (*gabhirâḥ*) "sleepless," "unwinking,"<sup>2</sup> "many-eyed," (*bhûryakṣhâḥ*), "far-observing," "fixed in their purpose." Distant things are near to them, they uphold and preserve the worlds, they see the good and evil in men's hearts, they punish sin (ii. 29, 5), and spread nooses for their enemies (ii. 27, 16).<sup>3</sup> They are supplicated for various boons, for pro-

<sup>1</sup> In the S. P. Br. iii. 5, 1, 13, a dispute between the *Âdityas* and *Angirases* regarding a sacrifice is mentioned. In the same work, xii. 2, 2, 9, it is said that these two classes of beings (the *Âdityas* and *Angirases*) were both descendants of *Prajâpati*, and that they strove together for the priority in ascending to heaven. In A.V. xii. 3, 43 f., and xix. 39, 5 also they are connected with one another.

<sup>2</sup> This is a characteristic of the gods in general.

<sup>3</sup> In regard to these deities, Roth thus expresses himself in the *Journ. of the*



tection, offspring, guidance, light, forgiveness, etc. (see especially R.V. ii. 27, 1-16).

The Âdityas regarded as a class of gods are not, however, characterized so specifically in the hymns, as some of the individual deities who bear that general designation, such as Varuṇa and Mitra; and I shall therefore proceed to give some account of the two latter, (with whose names that of Aryaman is sometimes associated), omitting any further reference to Bhaga and Anṣa, who are rarely mentioned, and to Dakṣha, of whom something has been already said. Sūrya and Savitr̥ will be treated separately.

#### V. MITRA AND VARUṆA.

These two deities are very frequently found in conjunction. Varuṇa is also often separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Their frequent association is easily explained if the commentators are right in understanding Mitra to represent the day, and Varuṇa the night. Thus, Sâyaṇa says on R.V. i. 89, 3: "Mitra is the god who presides over the day, according to the Vedic text, 'the day is Mitra's;'" and again, "Varuṇa is derived from the root *vr*, to cover; he envelops the wicked in his snares; and is the god who rules over the night, according to the text, 'the night is Varuṇa's.'"<sup>1</sup> In the same way the commentator on the Taittirīya Saṁhitâ, i. 8, 16, 1 (Bibl. Ind. vol. ii. p. 164) affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun," and that the "word Varuṇa signifies one who

Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69: "The eternal and inviolable element in which the Âdityas dwell, and which forms their essence, is the celestial light. The Âdityas, the gods of this light, do not therefore by any means coincide with any of the forms in which light is manifested in the universe. They are neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor dawn, but the eternal sustainers of this luminous life, which exists as it were behind all these phenomena."

<sup>1</sup> See also his note on i. 141, 9, where he gives the same explanation regarding Mitra and Varuṇa, and adds that Aryaman is the god who goes between the other two. According to his note on i. 90, 1, Aryaman is the god who makes the division of day and night. Compare also his note on ii. 38, 8, where he says that Varuṇa is represented as giving resting-places to creatures after sunset, because he carries on the affairs of the night (*gātr̥ nirvāhakatvāt*). In i. 35, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked along with Agni, Night and Savitr̥: "I invoke first Agni for our welfare; I invoke hither Mitra and Varuṇa to our aid; I invoke Night who gives rest to the world; I invoke the divine Savitr̥ to our assistance." See also what is said of Mitra awakening men, in iii. 59, 1, which will be quoted below.

envelops like darkness, according to the text (of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 10, 1, vol. i. p. 153) 'the day is Mitra's and the night is Varuṇa's.' In R.V. viii. 41, 3, it is said of the latter, "The beautiful god has embraced the nights, by his wisdom he has established the days, and everything perfectly." In another place (on R.V. vii. 87, 1) Sāyaṇa says that it is the setting sun which is called Varuṇa.

The following are some of the principal characteristics of these gods, as represented in the Rig Veda. Varuṇa is sometimes, at least, visible to his worshippers. Thus, in i. 25, 18, the rishi says: "I beheld him who is visible to all; I beheld his chariot upon the ground." In vii. 88, 2, also, the poet exclaims: "When I have obtained a vision of Varuṇa, I have regarded his lustre as resembling that of Agni."<sup>1</sup> Mighty and fixed in purpose, he sits in his abode exercising sovereignty (i. 25, 10). He is arrayed in golden mail,<sup>2</sup> and surrounded by his messengers or angels, *spaṣaḥ* (v. 13). His house is said to have a thousand doors (vii. 88, 5). Again he is described as occupying, along with Mitra, a palace supported by a thousand columns<sup>3</sup> (ii. 41, 5; v. 62, 6). The two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses and is golden-coloured at the break of day, and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun.<sup>4</sup> Mounted on their car, and soaring in the highest empyrean, they behold all things in heaven and earth (v. 62, 4, 8; v. 63, 1). Varuṇa is said to be farsighted (i. 25, 5, 16; viii. 90, 2); and thousand-eyed (vii. 34, 10). The sun is called his golden-winged messenger (x. 123, 6), or in other places, the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1), just as the same luminary is said by Hesiod (Opp. et Dies, 265) to be the eye of Jupiter,<sup>5</sup> Πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας. Along with

<sup>1</sup> See Roth's article on "The highest gods of the Arian races." Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Golden mail is also assigned to Savitr (iv. 53, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Ovid. Met. ii. 1 ff. Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I follow Roth here in understanding *udīta śūryasya* not of the rising (as the phrase generally means), but of the setting of the sun. It is thus only that the iron colour of the chariot becomes intelligible.

<sup>5</sup> See Max Müller's Essay on Comp. Mythol. in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 58.

Aryaman, another of the Âdityas, these two gods are called sun-eyed (vii. 66, 10). They are also denominated *supānti*, the beautiful or skilful-handed. Varuṇa is frequently spoken of as a king (i. 24, 7, 8; ii. 7, 4; iv. 1, 2; v. 40, 7; vii. 64, 1; x. 103, 9; x. 173, 5); as king of all (x. 132, 4); as king of all, both gods and men (ii. 27, 10); as king of the universe (v. 85, 3), and of all that exists (vii. 87, 6); as an universal monarch, *saṃrāt* (i. 25, 10; ii. 28, 6; v. 85, 1; vi. 68, 9; viii. 42, 1); as a self-dependent ruler, *svarāt* (ii. 28, 1). The same epithets of king and universal monarch are also applied in other places to Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly (as in i. 71, 9; i. 136, 1, 4; i. 137, 1; ii. 28, 9; v. 62, 6; v. 63, 2, 3, 5, 7; v. 65, 2; v. 68, 2; vii. 64, 2; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 4, 7, 8; viii. 90, 2; x. 65, 5).<sup>1</sup>

Power, martial strength, or sovereign authority, *kshattrā*, is also constantly predicated of one or both of these deities; and they as well as the Âdityas generally are denominated the strong, or martial, gods, *kshattriyāḥ* (as in i. 24, 6; i. 25, 5; i. 136, 1; v. 66, 3; v. 67, 1; v. 68, 1, 3; vi. 49, 1; vi. 51, 10; vi. 67, 5, 6; vii. 34, 11; vii. 64, 2; viii. 25, 8; viii. 56, 1; viii. 90, 5). They are also designated as *rudrāḥ*, the terrible (v. 70, 2, 3); as *asurāḥ*, the divine (vii. 36, 2; viii. 25, 4); as the divine and lordly deities (*asurā tāv aryā*) among the gods (vii. 65, 2). The epithet *asura*, divine, is frequently applied to Varuṇa in particular (as in i. 24, 14; ii. 27, 10; v. 85, 5; viii. 42, 1), though it is also given to other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

Another word employed to express their divine power, or wisdom, is *mâyā*; and Varuṇa is sometimes called the *mâyin*, the possessor of this attribute (vi. 48, 14; vii. 28, 4; x. 99, 10; x. 147, 5). While in some places (iii. 61, 7; v. 63, 4) this quality (*mâyā*) is ascribed to the two deities themselves, in other verses of the last quoted hymn (v. 63, 3, 7) they are said to cause the heaven to rain, and to uphold their ordi-

<sup>1</sup> The same deities with Aryaman are called kings in i. 41, 3; and kings of men (*rājāṇaḥ charshanīnām*) in x. 26, 6. In vii. 66, 11, it is said: "The kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, who established the year, the month, and the day, etc. enjoy unrivalled dominion (*kshattrā*).

nances, through the power (*māyā*) of the divine being (*asura*). It might appear as if the word *asura* denoted here some great Being distinct from, and superior to, Mitra and Varuṇa, through whose strength they acted; but in another hymn (v. 85, 5, 6) the term *asura* is distinctly used as an epithet of Varuṇa himself.

The grandest cosmical functions are ascribed to Varuṇa. Possessed of illimitable resources, this divine being has meted out, created, and upholds, heaven and earth; he dwells in all worlds as sovereign ruler; indeed, the three worlds are embraced within him (iv. 42, 3, 4; vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; vii. 87, 5, 6; viii. 41, 4, 5, 10; viii. 42, 1). The wind which resounds through the atmosphere is his breath (vii. 87, 2). He has opened boundless paths for the sun,<sup>1</sup> which he placed in the heavens, and has hollowed out channels for the rivers, which flow by his command (i. 24, 8; ii. 28, 4; vii. 87, 5). By his wonderful contrivance the rivers pour their waters into the one ocean, but never fill it.<sup>2</sup> His ordinances are fixed and unassailable.<sup>3</sup> They rest on him, unshaken, as upon a mountain; through their operation, the moon walks in brightness, and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight (i. 24, 10; i. 25, 6, 10; i. 44, 14; i. 141, 9; ii. 1, 4; ii. 28, 8; iii. 54, 18; viii. 25, 2). Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath (i. 24, 6). His messengers behold both worlds (vii. 87, 3).<sup>4</sup> He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the secret things that have been, or shall be done (i. 25, 7, 9, 11). No creature can even wink without him

<sup>1</sup> In vii. 60, 4, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to open out paths for the sun.

<sup>2</sup> See Roth on "The highest gods of the Arian races," p. 71; and Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 78. Compare Ecclesiastes, i. 7: "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

<sup>3</sup> See Roth in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 341; and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 534, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> The alert and invincible messengers of Mitra and Varuṇa are also mentioned in vi. 67, 5. The same word *spas* is used in i. 33, 8, where Indra's messengers seem to be spoken of.

(ii. 28, 6). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (vii. 49, 3). He instructs the rishi Vasishṭha in mysteries (vii. 87, 4). In the sixteenth hymn of the fourth book of the Atharva Veda, his power and his omniscience are thus celebrated:

"1. The great One who rules over these worlds beholds (all) as if he were close at hand. When any man thinks he is doing aught by stealth, the gods know it all; 2. (and they perceive) every one who stands, or walks, or glides along secretly, or withdraws into his house, or into any lurking-place. Whatever two persons, sitting together, devise, Varuṇa the king knows it, (being present there as) a third.<sup>1</sup> 3. This earth, too, belongs to Varuṇa the king, and that vast sky whose ends are so far off. The two seas [the ocean and the atmosphere]<sup>2</sup> are Varuṇa's loins; he resides in this small pool of water. 4. He who should flee far beyond the sky, would not there escape from Varuṇa the king.<sup>3</sup> His messengers, descending from heaven, traverse this world; thousand-eyed, they look across the whole earth. 5. King Varuṇa perceives all that exists within, as well as beyond, heaven and earth. The winking of men's eyes are all numbered by him.<sup>4</sup> He moves (all) these (things) as a gamester throws his dice. 6. May thy destructive nooses, O Varuṇa, which are cast seven-fold, and three-fold, ensnare the man who speaks lies, and pass by him who speaks truth."<sup>5</sup>

Varuṇa is supposed to have unlimited control over the destinies of mankind. He is said to have a hundred, a thousand remedies; is continually supplicated to drive away evil (*nirrti*) and sin (i. 24, 9); to forgive sin (ii. 28, 5, 7, 9;

<sup>1</sup> In R.V. x. 11, 1, Agni is compared to Varuṇa in omniscience; which seems to shew that this is an attribute in which Varuṇa was regarded as pre-eminent. With verses 1 and 2, compare Psalm cxxxix. 1-4, and St. Matthew xviii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Genesis, i. 7, and Psalm cxlviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> With this verse compare verses 7-10 of the Psalm just referred to.

<sup>4</sup> Compare St. Matthew, x. 30.

<sup>5</sup> The hymn is concluded by two verses, containing imprecations. After giving a German translation of the whole in his Dissertation on the Atharva Veda, page 19 f. (Tübingen, 1856) Professor Roth remarks as follows: "There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which expresses the divine omniscience in such forcible terms as this; and yet this beautiful description has been degraded into an introduction to an imprecation. But in this, as in many other passages of this Veda, it is natural to conjecture that existing fragments of older hymns have been used to deck out magical formulas. The first five, or even six verses of this hymn might be regarded as a fragment of this sort."



v. 85, 7, 8); he is entreated not to steal away, but to prolong, life (i. 24, 11; i. 25, 12); and to spare the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (i. 25, 1, 2). In many places mention is made of the bonds, or nooses, with which he seizes and punishes transgressors (i. 24, 15; i. 25, 21; vi. 74, 4; x. 85, 24). Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly are spoken of in one passage (vii. 7, 65, 2) as armed with many nooses for falsehood (*bhūripāṣā anṛtasya*); and in another place (vii. 84, 2) Indra and Varuṇa are described as binding with bonds not formed of rope (*setrbhir arajjubhiḥ sinīthaḥ*); on the other hand Varuṇa is said to be gracious even to him who has committed sin (vii. 87, 7). He is the wise guardian of immortality (*amṛtasya gopā*); he and Yama living in self-dependent blessedness will be beheld in the next world by the departed (x. 14, 7).<sup>1</sup>

That Varuṇa, far more than any other god, was regarded as possessing a high moral character, as well as a placable disposition, appears not only from the passages to which I have already referred, but also from the two hymns (vii. 86, and vii. 89) translated by Prof. Müller in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 540 f.; in which the worshipper, while palliating his sins, implores the god's forgiveness, and entreats that his life may be spared.<sup>2</sup> In another place (vii. 88, 4 ff) the same rishi alludes to his previous friendship with Varuṇa, and to the favours the god had formerly conferred upon him, and enquires why they had now ceased:—"Varuṇa placed Vasishṭha on his boat: by his power the wise and mighty deity made

<sup>1</sup> In the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1855, pp. 237 ff., Prof. Weber communicates from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) a legend regarding Varuṇa and his son Bhṛgu. The latter had esteemed himself superior to his father in wisdom, and was desired by him to visit the four points of the compass, where he witnesses certain visions of retribution in the other world. Prof. Weber accompanies this legend with some very interesting remarks. Among other things, he observes that the legend is shewn to be ancient from the high position which it assigns to Varuṇa, who appears to be conceived as the lord of the universe, seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all round him. Varuṇa, he adds, is represented in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xiii. 3, 6, 5, as having the form of a fair, bald, toothless, (with projecting teeth?), and yellow-eyed old man.

<sup>2</sup> On the character of Varuṇa as a moral governor, see Roth, *Journ. Germ. Or. Society*, vi. 71 ff.; a paper by the same author in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Society*, iii. 340 ff.; and his reply to Weber in the *Journ. Germ. Or. Society*, vii. 607.

him a rishi to offer praise in an auspicious period of his days, that his days and dawns might be prolonged. 5. Where<sup>1</sup> are those friendships of us two? Let us seek the peace which (we enjoyed) of old. I have gone, O self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast and spacious house with a thousand gates. 6. He who was thy friend, intimate, constant, and beloved has committed offences against thee. Let not us who are guilty reap the fruits of our sin. Do thou, a wise god, grant protection to him who praises thee."

The same or nearly the same functions and attributes as are ascribed to Varuṇa are also attributed to him and Mītra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens (v. 62, 3; v. 69, 1, 4; v. 63, 7; x. 132, 2; vi. 67, 5; vii. 61, 4). They are the guardians of the world (v. 62, 9; vii. 51, 2; viii. 25, 1; x. 126, 4). By their ordinance the great sky shines (x. 65, 5). They discharge the rain (v. 62, 3; v. 63, 1-3). Their godhead is beyond the ken of the skies, or of rivers (i. 159, 9). They (together with Aryaman) are awful deities, haters and dispellers of falsehood (i. 152, 1; ii. 27, 8; vii. 66, 13). They are guardians of sacred rites (v. 63, 1; vii. 64, 2). They carry out their fixed purposes, which are unobstructed even by the immortal gods (v. 63, 7; v. 69, 4). They make the foolish wise (vii. 60, 6, 7); they know heaven and earth (vii. 60, 7). They are described as righteous, and as promoters of religious rites (or truth or righteousness), *ṛtāvrdhā*, *ṛtāvānā*, *ṛta-sprṣā*, *ṛtasya gopau* (i. 2, 8; i. 23, 5; i. 136, 4; ii. 27, 4; v. 63, 1; v. 65, 2; v. 67, 4; vii. 66, 13; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 8), as the lords of truth and light (i. 23, 5). They avenge sin and falsehood (ii. 27, 4; vii. 60, 5); the man who neglects their worship is seized with consumption (i. 122, 9). They are besought along with Aditi to remove the trespasses of their worshippers (ii. 27, 14); and along with Aryaman to give deliverance (x. 126, *passim*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Psalm lxxxix. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Like other gods, and in particular Indra, they are represented as drinking the soma juice, i. 136, 4; i. 137, 1 ff.; iv. 41, 3; iv. 42, 6; v. 64, 7; v. 71, 3; v. 72, 1-3; vi. 68, 10.

Mitra alone is celebrated in iii. 59. The following are some of the verses:—1. "Mitra, uttering his voice, calls men to activity.<sup>1</sup> Mitra sustains the earth and the sky. Mitra with unwinking eye beholds (all) creatures. Offer to Mitra the oblation with butter. 2. Mitra, son of Aditi, may the mortal who worships thee with sacred rites, have food. He who is protected by thee is neither slain nor conquered. Calamity does not reach him from near or from far. . . . 4. This Mitra, adorable, auspicious, a king, strong, and wise, has been born. May we abide in the favour and kindness of this object of our worship. This great Âditya, who rouses men to exertion (see v. 1), who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be approached with reverence. . . . 7. Mitra who by his greatness transcends the sky, and the earth by his renown. 8. The five classes of men have done homage to Mitra the powerful helper, who sustains all the gods."

In his paper on "The highest gods of the Arian races" (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vi. p. 70 f.), Prof. Roth has the following ingenious and interesting observations on Mitra and Varuna:—"Within the circle of the Âdityas there subsists the closest connection between Mitra and Varuna, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuna is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked by himself (iii. 59). The fact that this dual invocation is preserved in the *Zend Avesta*, in regard to Ahura and Mithra, though the position of both has become entirely altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands,—this fact proves how close the ancient connection of the two was, when it has been maintained even after the reason for it had ceased. . . . . The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere distinctly expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision. But the stage of religious

<sup>1</sup> With this verse Roth (*Illustrations of Nirukta*, x. 22, p. 140) compares R. V. v. 82, 9, where it is said, "Savitr, who causes all creatures to hear his sound, and impels them." Comp. v. 5 of the present hymn; and vii. 36, 2, referred to by Roth in the passage about to be quoted from him.

culture which lies before us in the Rig Veda, enables us to distinguish this difference as one already existing, viz., that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, while Varuṇa, though the lord of all light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vasishṭha (vii. 36, 2) says: 'One of you (Varuṇa) is the lord, and unassailable guide, and he who is called Mitra, (*i.e.* the friend) calls men to activity.' Here so much at least is declared (and the same thing is expressed in nearly the same words in other places), that the light of day, which awakens life, and brings joy and activity into the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power; though, however, Varuṇa is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be the lord and the first.

"Though therefore such representations as are expressed in Indian exegesis, (as for instance, when Sāyaṇa says on R. V. vii. 87, 1, that Varuṇa is the setting sun), are far too narrow and one-sided, they still contain some truth; and we may guess by what process they are to be developed. If Varuṇa is, as his name shews, that one among the lucid Âdityas whose seat and sphere of authority is the bright heaven, in whose bosom is embraced all that lives, and therefore also the remotest boundary, beyond which human thought seeks nothing further, then is he also one who can scarcely be attained either by the eye or by the imagination. By day the power of vision cannot discover this remotest limit, the bright heaven presents to it no resting place. But at night this veil of the world, in which Varuṇa is enthroned, appears to approach nearer, and becomes perceptible, for the eye finds a limit. Varuṇa is closer to men. Besides, the other divine forms which, in the clouds, the atmosphere, the rays of light, filled the space between the earth and yonder immeasurable outermost sphere, have disappeared: no other god now stands between Varuṇa and the mortal who gazes at him."

Whatever may be the success of the attempts made to identify any other of the Indian and Iranian gods with one another, there can at least be no doubt, from the correspondence of the two names, that the Vedic Mitra and the Mithra

of the Zend Avesta were originally the same deity. Accordingly, the late Dr. F. Windischmann, in his Dissertation on the Persian Mithra,<sup>1</sup> regards it as established that this god was known to the old Arian race before the separation of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though the conception of his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas. That Mithra was worshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of Herodotus, is proved, as Windischmann remarks, by the common use of such names as Mitradataes and Mitrobates. Herodotus himself (i. 131) speaks of Mitra, not as a god, but as a goddess. But Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 5, 53; Ec. iv. 24), and Plutarch (Artax. 4, and Alexand. 30) describes the Persians as swearing by the god Mitra. And Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, chap. xlv., tells us that Zoroaster conceived of Mithra as standing intermediate between the deities Oromazes, the representative of light, and Areimanius, the representative of darkness and ignorance.<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary to say anything further here of the Persian Mithra, the eventual introduction of whose worship into the West is matter of history.

Though Varuṇa is not generally regarded in the Rig Veda as the god of the ocean, he is yet, in the following passages, connected with the element of water, either in the atmosphere or on the earth, in such a way as may have led to the conception of him which is fully established in the later mythology.

i. 161, 14: "Desiring you, ye sons of strength, the Maruts proceed through the sky, Agni along the earth, this Vâta (wind) through the atmosphere, and Varuṇa along the waters, the ocean" (*adbhiḥ samudraih*).

vii. 49, 2: "May the waters which are celestial, and those which flow, those which are dug up, and those which are self-produced, those which seek the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 3. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and false-

<sup>1</sup> Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857. See pp. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 56. This passage is also quoted, Sanskrit Texts, ii., 471.



hood of men, which drop sweetness and are bright and purifying, preserve me!"

vii. 64, 2: "Mitra and Varuṇa, ye two kings, protectors of the ceremonial, lords of the sea (or of rivers *sindhu-pati*), come hither; send us food and rain from the sky," etc.

In viii. 41, 8, Varuṇa appears to be called a hidden ocean (*samudro apīchyah*).

viii. 58, 12: "Thou art a glorious god, Varuṇa, into whose jaws the seven rivers flow, as into a surging abyss."<sup>1</sup>

Varuṇa is also connected with the sea or with the rivers in ix. 73, 3; ix. 90, 2; ix. 95, 4; and in Vāj. Sanh. x. 7, it is said that "Varuṇa, the child of the waters, made his abode within the most motherly waters as in his home." See also the third verse of the sixteenth hymn of the A. V. quoted above.

Prof. Roth gives (in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73) the following statement of the process by which he conceives that Varuṇa came in later times to be regarded as the god of the sea.

"The hymns of the Veda give already indications of this development, since Varuṇa is in one place brought into the same connection with the waves of the sea, as Storm and Wind are with the atmosphere and the heaven, and as Agni is with the earth (i. 161, 14, translated above), and it is elsewhere said of him that he sinks into the sea (vii. 87, 6), while in another passage the rivers are described as streaming towards him (viii. 58, 12). When on the one hand the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and on the other hand the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea, had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom—then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean. Another side of the affinity between the celestial and oceanic Varuṇa may be expressed in the words of Alexander von Humboldt, which perfectly coincide with the ancient Indian view: 'The two envelopments of the solid surface of our planet, viz., the aqueous and

<sup>1</sup> See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 70 f.

the atmospheric, offer many analogies to each other, in their mobility, in the phenomena of their temperature, and in the fact that their parts admit of being displaced: the depth both of the ocean and of the atmosphere is unknown to us.”

We have already seen that Varuṇa corresponds in name to the *’Ουρανός* of the Greeks. “Uranos,” as Prof. Müller observes,<sup>1</sup> “in the language of Hesiod, is used as a name for the sky; he is made or born that he should ‘be a firm place for the blessed gods.’”<sup>2</sup> It is said twice that Uranos covers everything (v. 127), and that when he brings the night, he is stretched out everywhere, embracing the earth.<sup>3</sup> This sounds almost as if the Greek mythe had still preserved a recollection of the etymological power of Uranos. For Uranos is the Sanskrit Varuṇa, and is derived from a root, *var*, to cover,” etc.

The parallel between the Greek Uranos and the Indian Varuṇa does not, as we have already seen, hold in all points. There is not in the Vedic mythology any special relation between Varuṇa and Pṛthivī, the earth, as husband and wife, as there is between Uranos and Gaia in the theogony of Hesiod; nor is Varuṇa represented in the Veda, as Uranos is by the Greek poet, as the progenitor of Dyaus (Zeus), except in the general way in which he is said to have formed and to preserve heaven and earth.

## VI. INDRA.<sup>4</sup>

Indra is, as Professor Roth remarks,<sup>5</sup> the favourite national deity of the Aryan Indians. More hymns are dedicated to

<sup>1</sup> Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod Theog. 126:—

Γαῖα δέ τοι πῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ  
 ’Ουρανὸν ἀστερόενθ’, ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,  
 ’Οφρ’ εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, v. 176:—

Ἦλθε δὲ Νύκτ’ ἐπάγων μέγας ’Ουρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ  
 Ἰμείρων φιλότῃτος ἐπέσχετο καὶ ᾗ ἐναντίσθη  
 Πάντῃ.

<sup>4</sup> In my account of Varuṇa there is little of importance that had not been previously said by Professor Roth; but in this description of Indra there is a larger collection of particulars than I have noticed to have been brought together elsewhere

<sup>5</sup> In his Lexicon, s.v. Indra

his honour than to the praise of any other divinity. Although, however, his greatness is celebrated in the most magnificent language, he is not regarded as an uncreated being. As I have already noticed, he is spoken of in various passages as being born, and as having a father and a mother (ii. 30, 2; iii. 48, 2 f.; iv. 18, 1 ff., and 10, 11; x. 73, 1, 10).

Thus in iv. 17, 4 it is said of him: "Thy father<sup>1</sup> was the parent of a most heroic son; the maker of Indra, he also produced the celestial and unconquerable thunderer,—was a most skilful workman." And again, vii. 20, 5: "A vigorous (god) begot him, a vigorous (son) for the battle: a heroic female (*nārī*) brought him forth, a heroic (son)," etc. Again, x. 120, 1: "That was the highest (being) in the world from which this fierce and impetuous (god) was born," etc. Again, vii. 98, 3: "When born, thou didst drink the soma-juice to (gain) strength: thy mother declared thy greatness."—x. 73, 1: "The Maruts here augmented Indra, when his opulent mother brought forth the hero."—x. 134, 1: "When thou, Indra, didst fill the two worlds like the dawn, a divine mother bore thee, a blessed mother bore thee, the great monarch of the great people" (? the gods). In x. 101, 12, as we have already seen, he is called the son of Nishṭigṛī. This word, as I have also noticed, is treated by the commentator as a synonyme of Aditi; but though Indra is always regarded as an Āditya in the later mythology, and even appears to be addressed in that character, along with Varuṇa, in vii. 85, 4, he is not commonly described as such in other parts of the Rīg Veda.<sup>2</sup>

In another place (iii. 49, 1) he is said to have been produced by the gods as a destroyer of enemies.

In the Puruṣa Sūkta (R. V. x. 90, 13) Indra is said to have sprung, along with Agni, from the mouth of Puruṣa. In one of the latest hymns (x. 167, 1) he is declared to have conquered heaven by austerity (*tapas*).

In vi. 59, 2, Indra and Agni are said to be twin brothers,

<sup>1</sup> In ii. 26, 3, Brahmanaspati is said to be the father of the gods.

<sup>2</sup> In iv. 26, 1, he is identified with Manu and Sūrya, and in viii. 82, 1, 4, and x. 89, 2, with Sūrya. In ii. 30, 1, he receives the epithet of *Savitṛ*.

having the same father, and whose mothers are, the one here, the other there. (The sense of this is not very evident.) In x. 55, 1 his brother's sons are mentioned.

In i. 82, 5, 6, Indra's wife is alluded to; and in a few passages (i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; x. 86, 11, 12) mention is made of a goddess *Indrāṇī*, who, from her name, must be the spouse of Indra.

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of *Vṛtra* (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?'" (viii. 45, 4, 5; 66, 1, 2). He says of himself (x. 28, 6): "My father begot me (a god) without an enemy."

A variety of *vāgue* and general epithets are lavished upon Indra. He is distinguished as youthful, ancient, strong, agile (*nṛtu*, i. 130, 7; ii. 22, 4; vi. 29, 3; viii. 24, 9, 12; viii. 57, 7; viii. 81, 3), martial, heroic, bright, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unbounded wisdom, and irresistible power and prowess, wielder of the thunderbolt, etc. etc. (i. 4, 8; i. 16, 9; i. 30, 6, 15; i. 61, 1; i. 81, 2, 7; i. 84, 2; i. 100, 12; i. 102, 6; i. 112, 23; i. 165, 6; ii. 21, 1-3; iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 7; iii. 45, 2; iii. 46, 1; vi. 18, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 22, 5; viii. 81, 8; viii. 84, 7 ff.; x. 103, 1 ff.). "He has vigour in his body, strength in his arms, a thunderbolt in his hand, and wisdom in his head"<sup>1</sup> (ii. 16, 2; viii. 85, 3). "He assumes the most beautiful forms, and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun" (x. 112, 3). The Vedic poets have also described to us a few of the features, as they conceived them, of his personal appearance. The epithet which is most frequently applied to him is *susīpra*, or *ṣiprin*, in the interpretation of which *Sāyana* wavers between "the god with handsome cheeks or nose," and "the god with the beautiful helmet or turban" (i. 9, 3; i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; i. 101, 10;<sup>2</sup> iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 17, 4; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 2, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; x. 105, 5).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this use of *śiras*, the head, as the seat of intelligence, compare iii. 51, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Compare i. 30, 11.

<sup>3</sup> A note on this word will be given when I come to treat of the Maruts.

He is also called *hari-ṣipra*, the ruddy-cheeked (x. 96, 4, 9, 12); *hari-keṣa*, the ruddy- or golden-haired (x. 96, 5, 8); *hari-śmaṣru*, the ruddy- or golden-bearded, or moustached (x. 96, 8). His beard is violently agitated when he puts himself in motion (ii. 11, 17; x. 23, 1, 4).<sup>1</sup> His whole appearance is ruddy or golden (*hari-varpas*, x. 96, 1 ff.). He is sometimes also described as *hiranyaya*, golden (i. 7, 2; viii. 55, 3), and as having golden arms (vii. 34, 4); and sometimes as of an iron hue (i. 56, 3; x. 96, 4, 8). His arms are long and far-extended (viii. 32, 10; viii. 70, 1). But his forms are endless; he can assume any shape at will (iii. 38, 4; iii. 48, 4; iii. 53, 8; vi. 47, 18). Carrying in his hand a golden whip (viii. 33, 11), he is borne on a shining golden car, with a thousand supports (i. 30, 16; i. 56, 1; vi. 29, 2; viii. 1, 24, 25; viii. 58, 16), which moves more swiftly than thought (x. 112, 2), and is drawn by two<sup>2</sup> tawny (ruddy, or golden) steeds, snorting, neighing, and irresistible (i. 30, 16; i. 81, 3); with flowing golden manes (i. 10, 3; i. 82, 6; viii. 17, 2; viii. 32, 29), hair like peacock's feathers (iii. 45, 1), and peacock's tails (viii. 1, 25), which rapidly traverse vast distances (ii. 16, 3). His car appears to have been formed by the R̥bhus (i. 111, 1; v. 31, 4). The following are some of the other texts which refer to Indra's chariot and horses: i. 6, 2; i. 16, 2; i. 55, 7; i. 84, 6; i. 100, 16; i. 101, 10; ii. 11, 6; viii. 82, 24; x. 44, 2. He is also said to be borne by the horses of the Sun (x. 49, 7), or by those of Vāta, the wind (x. 22, 4-6). The same deity, Vāyu, the wind, is said to have Indra for his charioteer, or companion in his car (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2; vii. 91, 6). The horses of Indra are declared to be yoked by the power of prayer (ii. 18, 3; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 17, 2), which is no doubt another mode of saying that it

<sup>1</sup> A beard is also assigned to Pūshan, who similarly shakes it (x. 26, 7).

<sup>2</sup> In ii. 18, 4-7 Indra is invited to come with two, four, six, eight, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, or a hundred horses (compare viii. 1, 9) to drink the Soma-juice. In iv. 46, 3, a thousand horses are said to convey Indra and Vāyu. In viii. 1, 24, Indra's horses are said to be a thousand and a hundred. From such a text as iii. 35, 7, where Indra is informed that food has been provided for his horses, as well as soma-juice to fill his own belly (v. 6), it would appear that the worshipper had a perfect assurance of the god's presence. In another place, however (x. 114, 9), the enquiry is made (among several others denoting difficulty and mystery), "Who has perceived the two horses of Indra?"



is in consequence of the importunity of his worshippers that he makes ready his chariot to come and receive their oblations, and fulfil their desires.

The thunderbolt of Indra is generally described as having been fashioned, or brought from heaven by Tvashtṛ, the artificer of the gods (i. 32, 2; i. 66, 6; i. 85, 9; i. 121, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3); but in other places it is declared to have been made and given to Indra by Kāvya Uṣanas. Its natural mode of production is alluded to in viii. 89, 9, where it is said: "The thunderbolt lies in the (aerial) ocean, enveloped in water." This thunderbolt is sometimes styled golden (i. 57, 2; i. 85, 9; viii. 57, 3; x. 23, 3), sometimes ruddy (*harita*, x. 96, 3); but more commonly it is said to be of iron (i. 52, 8; i. 80, 12; i. 81, 4; viii. 85, 3; x. 48, 3; x. 96, 3; x. 113, 5); sometimes it is described as four-angled (iv. 22, 2), sometimes as hundred-angled (vi. 17, 10), sometimes as hundred-jointed (*śataparvan*, i. 80, 6; viii. 6, 6; viii. 65, 2; viii. 78, 3), and sometimes as having a thousand points (i. 80, 12; i. 85, 9; v. 34, 2; vi. 17, 10). Indra is in one place (i. 55, 1) represented as sharpening his own thunderbolt. In other passages this god is spoken of as armed with a bow and arrows (viii. 3, 9; viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 6; x. 103, 2, 3). His arrows are described as golden (viii. 66, 11), as having a hundred points, and as being winged with a thousand feathers (viii. 66, 7). Indra is also declared to carry a hook (*ankuṣa*). Thus in viii. 17, 10 it is said: "May the hook be long wherewith thou reachest wealth to the worshipper who offers oblations." And similarly in Atharva Veda vi. 82, 3: "With that great golden hook of thine which confers wealth, O lord of Śachî (Indra), reach a wife to me who am longing for one."<sup>1</sup> Another text in which this word occurs is R. V. x. 134, 6 (= Sâma Veda ii. 441): "Thou, O wise (Indra), carriest a long hook like a spear, and hast held fast therewith, as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore foot." The word is also

<sup>1</sup> In these passages I follow Roth's explanation of *ankuṣa*, as given in his Lexicon, s. v. In his translation of this passage from the A. V. in Indische Studien v. 241, Professor Weber understands the word (*ankuṣa*) of a goad with which cattle are driven.

found in x. 44, 9: "I carry to thee this well-made goad wherewith, O Maghavan, thou mayest rend the *Ṣaphâruj* demons."<sup>1</sup>

Invoked by his mortal worshippers, Indra obeys the summons, and speedily arrives in his chariot to receive their offerings. He finds food provided for his horses (iii. 35, 7), and large libations of soma-juice are poured out for himself to quaff. The following are a few of the numerous passages which refer to this worship of Indra: i. 4, 8; i. 32, 3; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 84, 1, 4; ii. 15, 1, 2; ii. 19, 1 ff.; ii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 36, 3; iii. 40, 1 ff.; iv. 16, 1 ff.; vi. 23, 1, 5, 6; vi. 27, 1 ff.; vi. 29, 4; vii. 22, 1 ff.; vii. 29, 1 ff.; viii. 3, 1; x. 104, 1 ff.; etc. etc. The gods are all described as hastening eagerly to partake of this beverage (viii. 2, 18); but Indra is particularly addicted to the indulgence (i. 104, 9; i. 175, 5; ii. 14, 1; vii. 33, 2; viii. 2, 4). Indeed, it would appear to be to him an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth (iii. 32, 9, 10; iii. 48, 2, 3; vii. 98, 3). He is said to have drunk at one draught thirty lakes (or cups?) of soma (viii. 66, 4; compare vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10). His worshippers invite him in the most naïve manner to drink freely (vi. 47, 6) and fill his belly by copious potations, and he speaks in similar language of having accepted the invitation (i. 8, 7; i. 104, 9; ii. 11, 11; ii. 14, 10; ii. 16, 2; iii. 36, 6-8; iii. 40, 5; iii. 47, 1; iii. 51, 12; viii. 1, 23; viii. 2, 1; viii. 17, 5-8; viii. 67, 7; viii. 81, 22-24; x. 28, 2; x. 104, 2).<sup>2</sup>

The hymns and prayers addressed to Indra are described as stimulating his energies and increasing his vigour (i. 52, 7; i. 54, 8; i. 81, 1; ii. 12, 14; iii. 32, 12, 13; iii. 34, 1; vi. 36, 2; viii. 6, 35; viii. 14, 5, 11); and the worshippers (as well as the gods) are said to place the thunderbolt in his hands and to assist its efficacy (i. 63, 2; ii. 11, 4; ii. 20, 8;

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for pointing out the sense of this verse. *Ṣaphâruj* seems to mean a demon or an animal that destroys with its hoofs. The word occurs also in x. 87, 12, where it is an epithet of *Yātudhāna*, a demon, and must refer to some goblin which was conceived to tear with its hoofs.

<sup>2</sup> The soma-juice was also drunk by the worshippers themselves, and its effects on some of them are occasionally described. Thus in vi. 47, 3, it is said: "This (soma), when drunk, impels my voice; it stimulates the ardent thought." And

iii. 32, 12). The other deities, too, are described as infusing divine strength into Indra<sup>1</sup> (i. 80, 15; vi. 20, 2; x. 48, 3; compare x. 120, 3, and x. 56, 4), and as placing him in the van (i. 55, 3; i. 131, 1; vi. 17, 18; viii. 12, 22, 25). He is impelled and fortified by the Maruts (iii. 32, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 3, 4; vi. 17, 11; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1, 2; x. 113, 3).<sup>2</sup>

in viii. 48, 3, its elevating effect is still more distinctly told, in words which may be rendered as follows:

We've quaffed the soma bright,  
And are immortal grown;  
We've entered into light,  
And all the gods have known.  
What mortal now can harm,  
Or foeman vex us more?  
Through thee beyond alarm,  
Immortal god, we soar.

Compare the curious parallel to this (already noticed in Sanskrit Texts, iii. 162) in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578 ff., where Polyphemus exclaims in his drunken exultation:

Ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς μοι συμμετρίμενος δοκεῖ  
τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διὸς τε τὸν θρόνον  
λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἄγρον σέβας.

<sup>1</sup> Indra on his side again is said to give divine power to the other gods (vi. 36, 1).

<sup>2</sup> In one place, however, (viii. 7, 31) the Maruts are asked what they were seeking when they deserted Indra, and who could then trust in their friendship. In another text (viii. 85, 7), on the contrary, it is said that all the other gods who had been Indra's allies, terrified by the blast of Vṛtra's breath, deserted Indra and fled (compare iv. 18, 11), while the Maruts, it must be supposed, stood firm, as Indra is advised to make friends with them, and then he should conquer all hostile armies. The commentator, however (like many other dogmatical theologians), finding it necessary to reconcile these conflicting statements, interprets viii. 7, 31 differently, and makes it mean, "When did you desert Indra? i.e. never," and quotes the *Altareya Brāhmaṇa* iii. 20, which says the Maruts did not desert Indra; but said, "Smite, O lord, slay, play the hero."

In R. V. i. 32, 14, Indra himself is said to have become frightened after he had slain Vṛtra, and to have crossed ninety-nine rivers in his flight. Compare Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 547.

The *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* are also said to have assisted Indra (R. V. x. 131, 4, 5 = *Vāj. Sanh.* x. 33, 34). "You two, *Aśvins*, lords of splendour, drinking together the delightful draught (of soma), protected Indra in his achievements against the *Asura* *Namuchi*. 5. As parents a son, so ye two, *Aśvins*, by your wisdom and your energy, delivered thee, O Indra. When thou, O magnificent (Indra), didst drink the delightful draught (of soma), *Sarasvatī* waited upon thee with her powers." A story is told by the commentator on the *Vāj. Sanh.* x. 33, to explain these lines. *Namuchi*, it seems, was a friend of Indra; and taking advantage of his friend's confidence, he drank up Indra's strength along with a draught of wine and soma. Indra then told the *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* that *Namuchi* had drunk up his strength. The *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* in consequence gave Indra a thunderbolt in the form of foam, with which he smote off the head of *Namuchi*. The *Aśvins* then drank the soma, mixed with blood and wine, from the belly of *Namuchi*, and transferred it pure to Indra; and by transferring it they delivered Indra. The story is taken from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xii. 7, 3, 1 ff. (p. 934 Weber's ed.) and is the original version of those adduced by me elsewhere (*Sansk. Texts* iv. 222 and 420). As given in the *Brāhmaṇa*, it runs thus: "The *Asura* *Namuchi* carried off Indra's strength (*indriya*), the essence of food, and the draught of soma, together with wine. He (Indra)

Thus exhilarated and encouraged (ii. 11, 11; ii. 15, 1 ff.; ii. 19, 2; vi. 47, 1, 2; x. 112, 1), Indra hurries off, escorted by troops of Maruts, and sometimes attended by his faithful comrade Vishṇu (i. 22, 19; i. 85, 7;<sup>1</sup> iv. 18, 11; vii. 99, 4, 5; viii. 89, 12<sup>2</sup>), to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as Vṛtra, Ahi, Śushṇa, Namuchi, Pipru, Arbuda, Uraṇa, etc. etc. (i. 121, 9, 10; ii. 14, 4 ff.; viii. 32, 2, 3), armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery (i. 32, 13), attempt, but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods.<sup>3</sup> Heaven and Earth quake with affright at the crash of Indra's thunder (i. 80, 11, 14; i. 100, 13; ii. 11, 9,

hastened to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, and said: 'I have sworn to Namuchi, I will neither slay thee by day, nor by night, neither with club, nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand (*prithena*), nor with fist, neither with dry nor with moist; and he has carried off that of mine; will ye recover it for me?' They answered: 'Let us have a share in it, and we will recover it.' Indra replied: 'It shall be common to us all; recover it therefore.' Then the Aśvins and Sarasvatī anointed the thunderbolt with the foam of the waters, saying, 'It is neither dry nor moist.' With that Indra struck off the head of Namuchi, when night was passing into dawn, and the sun had not yet risen, when (as he said) 'it was neither day nor night.' . . . When his head had been cut off, the soma remained mixed with blood; and they loathed it. But having perceived this draught of the two somas, according to the text, 'King Soma when poured out, is nectar,' they with this made the other mixed fluid palatable, and swallowed it."

In one place (x. 138, 6) Indra is said to perform his exploits alone. Compare i. 84, 7.

<sup>1</sup> Benfey, however, refers this passage, i. 85, 7, not to Indra, but to the soma.

<sup>2</sup> Compare i. 156, 5; vi. 17, 11; viii. 12, 27; viii. 66, 10; x. 113, 2; in which passages (as well as in separate hymns, i. 155; vi. 69), Indra and Vishṇu are connected. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu, v. 5, 5, 1 ff.:

"Formerly Vṛtra had within him all the Rk, Yajush, and Sāma verses. Indra was anxious to discharge a thunderbolt at him, (2) and said to Vishṇu: 'I shall shoot a thunderbolt at Vṛtra; follow after me.' 'So be it,' said Vishṇu, 'I will follow thee; smite him.' Indra then aimed a thunderbolt at Vṛtra, who was alarmed at it, and said, (3) 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Yajush verses. Indra then aimed a second thunderbolt at him, (4) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave the Rk verses. Indra then aimed a third thunderbolt at him, (5) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Sāma verses. . . . (7) Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishṇu followed him."

Agni is in several places (i. 109, 5, 7, 8; iii. 12, 4, 6; x. 65, 2) associated with Indra as a thunderer, a destroyer of Vṛtra, and an overthrower of cities. Varuṇa, too, is in one place (iv. 41, 4) joined with Indra as a thunderer.

<sup>3</sup> Vṛtra (?) is said, in ii. 30, 3, to have rushed upon Indra, clothed in a cloud, but to have been overcome.

10; vi. 17, 9), and even Tvashṭr himself, who forged the bolts, trembles at the manifestation of his anger (i. 80, 14). The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts, and even by their very sound (vi. 27, 4; viii. 6, 13). The waters, released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean (i. 34, 4, 12; i. 55, 6; i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; i. 103, 2; ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 12; ii. 14, 2; ii. 15, 3; ii. 19, 3; iii. 32, 6; iv. 17, 1; v. 32, 1; vi. 30, 4; viii. 65, 3; x. 133, 2). The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed, and the sun is restored to his position in the heavens (i. 32, 4; i. 51, 4; i. 52, 8; ii. 19, 3; x. 89, 2). Constant allusions to these elemental conflicts occur in nearly every part of the Rig Veda (i. 4, 8; i. 32, 1 ff.; i. 52, 1 ff.; i. 54, 4 ff.; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 103, 1 ff.; ii. 11, 5 ff.; v. 32, 1 ff.; x. 87, 9; x. 113, 6), and the descriptions are sometimes embellished with a certain variety of imagery. The clouds are represented as mountains, or are variously characterized as the ancient or eternal (ii. 14, 6; viii. 17, 13; viii. 87, 6), the autumnal (i. 131, 4; vi. 20, 10), the moving (viii. 1, 28), and the iron- (ii. 20, 8) or stone-built (iv. 30, 20) cities of the Asuras (or atmospheric demons), which Indra overthrows (i. 51, 5; i. 63, 7; i. 103, 2; i. 130, 7; i. 174, 8; ii. 19, 6; ii. 20, 7; iii. 12, 6; iv. 26, 3; iv. 30, 13; vi. 61, 4; viii. 82, 2; x. 89, 7). He casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains (i. 32, 2; i. 130, 7; ii. 12, 11; iv. 30, 14; vi. 26, 5); or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens (ii. 12, 12; viii. 14, 14). One of them he crushes under his foot (i. 51, 6), or pierces with ice (viii. 32, 26). He strikes off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters<sup>1</sup> (viii. 14, 13). One of his opponents is described as a monster with ninety-nine arms (ii. 14, 4), and another as having three heads and six eyes (x. 99, 6).

The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather,

<sup>1</sup> See above, in a preceding note.



when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day, without discharging their contents. And in the early ages when the Vedic hymns were composed it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces: even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow.

In numerous places of the Rig Veda, the highest divine functions and attributes are ascribed to Indra. A collection of the most striking of these passages will be found in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85-94.

I subjoin some additional passages:

i. 61, 14. "Through fear of him when he is born, the stable mountains, and heaven and earth, are agitated."

i. 100, 1. "The monarch of the great heaven and of the earth . . . 15. of whose godhead neither gods nor men have attained the limit, nor have the waters reached the end of his power," etc.

i. 101, 5. "He (Indra) who is the lord of the whole moving and breathing (world)," etc.

i. 165, 9. "There is nothing unconquered by thee: no

god like thee is known. No one to be born, or yet born, can rival thee. Do, great god, whatever thou wilt to do."

i. 173, 6. "Since Indra is so superior to men, heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle," etc.

ii. 17, 5. "He has settled the ancient mountains by his might. He has supported the earth, the universal nurse. By his skill he has propped up the sky from falling."

iii. 30, 5. "When thou, O Maghavan, didst grasp even these two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to thee."<sup>1</sup>

iii. 46, 2. "Thou, who alone art the king of the whole world, etc. . . . 3. Indra, in every respect unequalled, has surpassed all measures, has surpassed the gods: the impetuous deity has surpassed in greatness the heaven and the earth, and the broad and vast atmosphere."

iv. 17, 2. "At the birth of thee, the glorious one, the heaven trembled, and the earth, through fear of thy wrath," etc. (Compare iv. 22, 3, 4.)

v. 30, 5. "When thou wert born, the highest and supreme, bearing a name renowned afar, the gods were then afraid of Indra," etc.

v. 42, 6. "Let us declare the deeds of the unrivalled, victorious, undecaying god, who is attended by the Maruts. Neither have former nor later (men), nor has any recent (man) comprehended thy valour."

vi. 30, 1. "Indra has surpassed the heaven and the earth. The two worlds are but equal to the half of him."

viii. 6, 15. "Neither heavens, nor atmospheres, nor earths, have equalled Indra the thunderer in might."

viii. 12, 30. "When thou (Indra) didst sustain the sun, a brilliant light, in the sky, then all worlds yielded to thee."

viii. 14, 9. "By Indra the lights of the sky have been fixed and established. Those which are established he has not removed."

viii. 15, 2. "Whose great vigour supported the two worlds, the mountains, plains," etc.

viii. 85, 4. "I regard thee, Indra, as the most adorable of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Isaiah xl. 12.

the adorable, the caster down of the unshaken,<sup>1</sup> the most distinguished of living things, the chief of beings. . . . 6. Let us praise this Indra who produced these (worlds): all beings are inferior (or subsequent) to him."

viii. 86, 14. "All worlds, thunderer, both heaven and earth, tremble through fear of thee."

x. 44, 8. "He sustained the quaking mountains and plains: the sky resounded; he shook the atmosphere," etc. (Compare ii. 12, 2).

x. 54, 1. "(I celebrate,) Maghavan, thy glory in that through thy greatness the terrified worlds invoked thee. Thou didst deliver the gods, etc. . . . 2. When thou didst march on increasing in bulk, proclaiming thy strength amongst men, thy combats which they describe were (the proofs of) thy power; neither now nor before dost thou know of any enemy. 3. Which of all the seers before us have found out the end of all thy greatness? seeing that thou didst produce at once the father and the mother (heaven and earth)<sup>2</sup> from thine own body."

x. 89, 10. "Indra rules over the sky, Indra rules over the earth, Indra rules over the waters, and Indra rules over the mountains," etc.

In some places (iv. 19, 2; iv. 21, 10) he is called *samrāt*, or universal monarch, in other places (iii. 46, 1; iii. 49, 2; viii. 12, 14) *svarāt*, a self-dependent sovereign.

The preceding passages afford a fair specimen of the language in which Indra is most commonly celebrated in the hymns. It will be observed that the attributes which are ascribed to him are chiefly those of physical superiority, and of dominion over the external world. In fact, he is not generally represented as possessing the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur with which Varuna is so often invested. There are, however, many passages in which Indra's close relations with his worshippers are described, and a few in which an ethical character is attributed to him. Faith in him is confessed, or enjoined (i. 55, 5; i. 103, 5; i. 104, 6, 7; ii. 12, 5); and the reality of his existence and power is

<sup>1</sup> The Maruts are said to have the same power (i. 64, 3).    <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 57.

asserted in opposition to sceptical or faithless doubts (ii. 12, 5; ii. 18, 3, 4; viii. 89, 3 ff.). He is the friend, and even the brother, of his present worshippers, as he was the friend of their forefathers (ii. 18, 8; ii. 20, 3; iii. 53, 5; iv. 23, 6; vi. 18, 5; vi. 21, 5, 8; vi. 45, 1, 7; x. 22, 1, 2; x. 23, 7; x. 42, 2, 4, 11); but he desires no friendship with the man who offers no oblations (x. 42, 4). He is reminded that he has friends, while his adorers are friendless (viii. 21, 4). His friend is never slain or conquered<sup>1</sup> (x. 152, 1). It is he almost exclusively<sup>2</sup> who is invoked as the patron of the Âryyas, and their protector against their enemies, aerial or earthly<sup>3</sup> (i. 51, 8, 9; i. 103, 3; i. 130, 8; ii. 11, 18; iii. 34, 9; iv. 26, 2; vi. 18, 3; vi. 25, 2; viii. 24, 27; viii. 87, 6; x. 49, 3; x. 86, 19 [?]). He is invoked by men like a father (x. 48, 1). He is embraced by the hymns of his votaries as a husband is embraced by his wives (x. 43, 1). His right hand is grasped by suppliants for riches (x. 47, 1). His powerful arms are resorted to for protection (vi. 47, 8). He is a preserver and deliverer easy to be entreated (vi. 47, 11). He is implored not to slay for one, two, three, or even for many, sins<sup>4</sup> (viii. 45, 34). He richly rewards his faithful servants (ii. 11, 16; ii. 12, 6, 14, 15; ii. 19, 4; ii. 22, 3; v. 37, 1, 4, 5; x. 160, 3, 4), though he is sometimes naïvely importuned to be more prompt in his generosity (iv. 21, 9; x. 42, 3), and is even told that his worshipper, if in his place, and possessed of his means, would be more liberal, and not leave his friends in destitution (vii. 32, 18, 19; viii. 14, 1, 2; and see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 545). He is supplicated

<sup>1</sup> The same is said of Mitra (iii. 59, 2); and of the Maruts (v. 54, 7).

<sup>2</sup> The Asvins are, however, said, in i. 117, 21, to have created a great light for the Âryya. In vi. 21, 11, all the gods are said to have made Manu superior to the Dâsa; Vishnu is elsewhere said to have traversed the earth to give it for a domain to Manu (vii. 100, 4); and Agni is called the promoter of the Ârya (*âryasya vardhanam*, viii. 92, 1).

<sup>3</sup> Indra is, however, also invoked for aid against enemies of the Aryan race, as well as against aliens (vi. 60, 6; x. 38, 3; x. 102, 3). Indra and Varuna are invoked together for the same purposes (vii. 83, 1). Manu is supplicated for the same objects (x. 83, 1). The gods (apparently those specified in the preceding verses) are said (x. 65, 11) to spread Aryan rites upon earth.

<sup>4</sup> In reply to this, Indra is made to ask (v. 37) "What friend, O mortals, ever kills his friend without provocation?" See Nirukta iv. 2; and Roth's *Illustrations*, p. 88.

for all sorts of temporal blessings, and among the rest for victory in war (ii. 12, 8, 9; and especially x. 103, 7 ff.). As a man in walking puts first one foot forward and then the other, so Indra by his power changes the relative positions of men; he subdues the fierce and advances others: lord of both worlds, he is the enemy of the prosperous and ungodly man (vi. 47, 15, 16); he punishes sinners and those who offer no sacrifice (i. 131, 4; ii. 12, 10; v. 42, 9; viii. 59, 10, 11),<sup>1</sup> while he protects his own servants, and leads them into a "large room," into celestial light and security (vi. 47, 8).

Professor Roth is of opinion that Varuṇa belongs to an older dynasty of gods than Indra, and that during the Vedic age the high consideration originally attaching to the former was in course of being transferred to the latter. In support of his position that Varuṇa's worship was then declining, he urges the circumstance that in the tenth book of the Rig Veda, which contains the latest productions of that period, there is not a single entire hymn addressed to that deity.<sup>2</sup>

This supersession of the one god by the other, Roth considers to be a result, or feature, of the gradual modification which the old Arian religion soon began to undergo after it had been transplanted into India. The more supersensuous or spiritual elements of this religion he thinks were preserved, though in a peculiar and somewhat altered form, in the Persian creed, which at the same time rejected almost entirely the gods representing the powers of nature, whom it had also inherited from an earlier age. The Indian faith, as found in the Rig-veda, has, on the contrary, according to Roth, begun already to give the preference to these latter

<sup>1</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 21, 14 (= S. V. ii. 740), which is thus rendered by Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 543 f.): "Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend; wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father." Benfey renders the verse somewhat differently, thus: "Thou never takest for a friend the man who is merely rich; he who is inflated with wine is a burthen to thee: with a mere sound thou smitest them, and then thou art supplicated like a father."

<sup>2</sup> See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73; and Böhlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Lexicon, s.v. Indra. Professor Whitney adopts the same view (Journ. Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 327). Windischmann, in his Mithra, p. 54, extends the same remark to that god also. The passage is translated in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 295.



deities, to transfer to them an ever increasing dignity and honour, to draw down the divine life into nature, and to bring it ever closer to men. He finds proof of this in the development of the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Arian religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend Avesta ascribes the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra to another god. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to set aside even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed, from the position which is proved, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts seek to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa. Thus, according to Roth, an old god, common to the Arians (*i.e.* the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown into the background, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian and national god, is introduced. (See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.)

I am not aware that Roth has anywhere stated in detail any other proofs of the anteriority of Varuṇa to Indra.

The superior antiquity of the former may, however (as intimated in the passage just quoted from that writer), be argued from the fact, already noticed, of the coincidence of his name with that of the Greek *Οἰωνός*, which goes some way to prove that a deity of this name was worshipped by the entire Indo-Germanic race before its western branches were separated from the eastern, whilst we shall look in vain for any traces of the name Indra in the Greek mythology.

If, further, Roth's opinion<sup>1</sup> that there is not merely an analogy, but an actual historical connection between the Ādityas and the Amshaspands of the Zend Avesta, be well founded, it will be made out that Varuṇa, who is one of the Ādityas, must have been worshipped by the Aryans before

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Germ. Orient. Society, vi. 69, 70.

the separation of the Persian from the Indian branch of that family. And this conclusion will be strengthened if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Whitney,<sup>1</sup> that Ahura-Mazda is a development of Varuṇa.

I learn, however, from a communication with which I have lately been favoured by Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, that that eminent Zend scholar is unable to recognize any similarity between Ahura-Mazda and Varuṇa, and considers the connection of the Amshaspands with the Âdityas to be very doubtful. And such of the grounds for regarding Varuṇa as an older deity than Indra as might otherwise have been derived from the Zend Avesta would be a good deal weakened if with the same scholar (Avesta, i. 10) we should look upon the Indra or Andra of the Zend books as standing for Indra, and as representing a deity who had at one time been an object of worship common both to the Indian and Persian Aryans, but who after the separation of the two tribes was degraded by the latter into an evil spirit. For while Indra would thus be proved to have been known before the period of that separation, he might also have been at one time a god held by both divisions of the Âryas in as much consideration as Varuṇa. I learn, however, from Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books in reference to this name are not sufficient to afford a basis for any far-reaching conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 327. There is no doubt that the term *Asura*, "spirit," which is frequently applied to Varuṇa and to Mitra, and also to Indra and others of the Vedic gods, is the same word which, in its Zend form Ahura, makes up, with the addition of Mazda, the appellation of the supreme and benevolent deity of the Iranian mythology. Professor Müller regards the names Ahuro Mazdâo as corresponding to the Sanskrit Asuro-medhas, the "wise spirit" (Lectures on the Science of Language, 1st edition, p. 195). In regard to Ahura-Mazda and the Amshaspands, Professor Spiegel has, as he informs me, collected all the positive information he could obtain in the Avesta, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his translation, pp. iii. ff.

<sup>2</sup> The identification of Andra with Indra was, as Professor Spiegel tells me, first proposed by Burnouf (Yaşna 526 ff.), where a translation is given of the passage in which Andra is mentioned. It is rendered thus by Spiegel himself, in his Avesta, i. 176: "I fight with Indra, I fight with Sauru, I fight with the Dâeva Naoghaithi, to drive them away from the dwelling, the village, the castle, the country." The name Indra or Andra, as Professor Spiegel further informs me, occurs only in one other passage (Westergaard, Zendavesta, p. 475) which he (Prof. S.) believes to be interpolated. It contains merely the name, and consequently throws no further light on the position of the god in the Avesta. The

Beyond the fact noticed by Roth, that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last than in the earlier books of the Rīg Veda, I have not observed in the hymns themselves anything that can be construed as a decisive proof that the worship of Indra was superseding that of Varuṇa during the period of their composition. Even in the earlier parts of the Veda the number of hymns addressed to the former god is much greater than that in which the latter is celebrated. But I have not discovered any expressions which would distinctly indicate that the popularity of the one was waning, and that of the other increasing. There are, however, some passages which, though they do not afford any clear indications in support of such a supposition, are, at all events, not inconsistent with its correctness. Thus there are a good many hymns in which Indra is associated with Varuṇa as an object of celebration, such as i. 17; iv. 41; iv. 42; vii. 82; vii. 83; vii. 84; vii. 85; etc; and this association of the two might have arisen from the worshippers of Indra desiring to enhance the dignity of that god by attaching him to the older and more venerable deity. The two gods are called *friends* (iv. 41, 3; vii. 34, 24); and this might bear the interpretation that some of their worshippers had been in the habit of regarding them as *rivals* and *enemies*. They are called the two monarchs, *samrājā*, and the supporters of all creatures<sup>1</sup> (i. 17, 1, 2); fixed in their designs, *dhr̥ta-vratā* (vi. 68, 10). Varuṇa is supplicated, along with Indra, to discharge a gleaming and violent thunderbolt (iv. 41, 4), though in most other places (see above) Indra alone is regarded as the thunderer. In iv. 42, 26,<sup>2</sup> the two gods appear to be identified. In vii. 82, 2, it is said that one of

information found in the later Parsee books regarding Indra or Andra is also meagre (compare Spiegel's Avesta, ii. 35). On this subject Professor Spiegel makes the following remarks, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Avesta, p. lxxi: "It is said by some that the Andra of the Avesta is the Indra of the Vedas, that Nāghaithya answers to Nāsatyas, and Šaurva to Sarva. Here from a real fact a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The names are the same in both religious systems; but how far the things resembled each other can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haoma, etc.; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question."

<sup>1</sup> The same epithet *dharitārā charshanīnām* is also applied to Mitra in v. 67, 2; and Varuṇa is called *charshanī-dhrt*, "supporter of creatures," in iv. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare R. V. iv. 26, 1; and i. 164, 46.

the two, Varuṇa, is called *saṃrāt*, monarch (as he is in various places, see above, p. 79), and the other, Indra, is called *svarāt*, independent ruler (iii. 46, 1, and elsewhere; see above), and their separate functions are described in other parts of this and the following hymns (vii. 82, 2, 5, 6; vii. 83, 9; vii. 84, 2; vii. 85, 3), as their joint action is in other verses. Thus they are said to have dug the channels of the rivers, to have impelled the sun in the sky (vii. 82, 3), and to have made all creatures (ibid. 5). All the other gods are said to have infused strength and vigour into these two in the highest heaven (ibid. 2). These passages are consistent with the supposition that the two gods were felt to have been rivals, and that the author of the hymn sought to reconcile their conflicting claims.

But Vishṇu and Indra are also joined together in the same way in some hymns, i. 155; vi. 69; vii. 99, 4 ff.; as are also Agni and Indra in others, i. 21; i. 108; i. 109; iii. 12; v. 86; vi. 59.

A number of verses occur in different parts of the Rig Veda (viz. i. 133, 1; iv. 23, 7; v. 2, 3; vii. 18, 16; x. 27, 6; x. 48, 7) in which the epithet *anindra*, "one who is no worshipper of Indra," is employed; but it is not clear to whom it is applied, whether (1) to persons who were not worshippers of Indra in particular, as distinguished from other Aryan gods, or (2) to the aboriginal tribes who did not worship either him or any other Aryan god, or perhaps (3) to evil spirits as the enemies of Indra. In other places (as I have above noticed) we find sceptical doubts expressed regarding Indra, as in ii. 12, 5: "Have faith in him, that terrible one, regarding whom men ask, 'Where is he?' and declare of him that 'He is not;' . . . . he, O men, is Indra;" and viii. 89, 3, 4: "Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'I am here, O worshipper,' [exclaims Indra]; 'behold me here; I surpass all creatures in greatness.'"

I have not noticed any passage in which any sceptical doubts are expressed regarding Varuṇa.

The twelfth hymn of the second book is devoted to the glorification of Indra. The first and second verses are as follows:—"He who, as soon as born, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force: at whose might the two worlds trembled, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. He who fixed the quivering earth, who settled the agitated mountains, who meted out the vast atmosphere, who established the sky,—he, O men, is Indra." The following verses all end in the same way, by declaring that Indra is he who had performed the various acts, or possessed the various powers, which they specify. This might appear as a polemical assertion against gainsayers of Indra's claims to recognition as a fit object of worship.<sup>1</sup>

In x. 48, 11, Indra is introduced as saying that "he, a god, does not obstruct the power (or glory) of the Âdityas, the Vasus, or the sons of Rudra, who have promoted his (Indra's) power, and made him unconquerable, irreversible, and unassailable."

In x. 49, 10, Indra says of himself that he had placed in the waters what even the gods and Tvashtṛ could not place; and (v. 11) that he had eclipsed both gods and men in force.

In viii. 51, 2, it is said that, "without a fellow, unequalled by men, Indra, alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations and all creatures." Here Prof. Aufrecht has conjectured (see Sanskrit Texts, iv., p. 91, note <sup>79</sup>) that the words *pūrvāḥ kṛśāt* may denote races of gods anterior to Indra. In v. 7 of the same hymn it is said that all the gods yield to Indra in valour and strength. In v. 12 the worshippers protest that their praises are true and not false; and declare that great destruction falls upon him who pours out no libations to Indra,<sup>2</sup> while he who does offer them is blessed with abundant light.

In iv. 30, 1 ff, Indra is described as having no superior or equal, as having headed all the gods in battle, and as having alone conquered all the enemies of the gods. And in the

<sup>1</sup> There is another hymn (x. 86), each verse of which ends with the words, "Indra is superior to all;" but the drift of the hymn is too obscure to admit of my determining whether it has any polemical tendency or not.

<sup>2</sup> This sentiment, appears to be repeated from i. 101, 4.



following passages (formerly quoted in Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85 ff.), it is said that all of the gods are unable to frustrate the mighty deeds and counsels of Indra (ii. 30, 4); that no one, whether god or man, either surpasses or equals him (vi. 30, 4); that no one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to him (vii. 32, 23); and that by battle he has acquired ample space (or wealth) for the gods (vii. 98, 3). And it is even said (i. 101, 3) that Varuṇa and Sûrya are subject to the command of Indra; and in x. 89, 8, 9, that the latter can destroy the enemies of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (hereby evincing, of course, his superiority to those three gods).

All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rîg-veda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra and Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate<sup>1</sup> (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration. Thus in ii. 38, 9, it is said that neither Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, nor Rudra can resist the ordinance of Savitr; in iv. 13, 2, that Varuṇa and Mitra conform to his will; and in vii. 38, 4, that the divine Aditi, and the kings Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman unite to magnify the same deity. Again, in i. 156, 4, it is declared that king Varuṇa and the Aṣvins submit to the power of Vishṇu. In i. 141, 9, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman are said to be eclipsed (?) by Agni when he blazes forth. In iv. 5, 4, the same god is besought to consume those enemies who menace the stable abodes<sup>2</sup> of Varuṇa and the wise Mitra. In i. 128, 7, Agni is said to deliver men from the evil (*dhûrtteḥ*) inflicted by the mighty god Varuṇa. In iv. 1, 2, 3, Agni is solicited to bring Varuṇa, his brother and friend; and in *vv.* 4 and 5, of the same hymn, to remove Varuṇa and to avert his anger.

If, therefore, we were to infer from passages like i. 101, 3

<sup>1</sup> See Müller's *Anc. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 532 ff.    <sup>2</sup> Ordinances.—Roth, *s.v. dhâman*.

(which declares Varuṇa and the Sun to be subject to Indra), that the worship of Indra was beginning to gain ground on that of Varuṇa, we should have, in like manner, to conclude from the other texts just cited, that the worship of Savitr was beginning to supersede not only that of Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and Aditi, their mother, but also that of Rudra, and even of Indra himself.

## VII. VĀYU.

Vāyu, the wind, as we have already seen, is often associated with Indra. (See also i. 2, 4; i. 14, 3; i. 23, 2; i. 135, 4 ff.; i. 139, 1; ii. 41, 3; iv. 46, 2 ff.; iv. 47, 2 ff.; v. 51, 4, 6 f.; vii. 90, 5 ff.; vii. 91, 4 ff.; x. 65, 9; x. 141, 4). The two gods appear to have been regarded by the ancient expositors of the Veda as closely connected with each other; for the Nairuktas, as quoted by Yāska (Nirukta, vii. 5), while they fix upon Agni and Sūrya as the representatives of the terrestrial and celestial gods respectively, speak of Vāyu and Indra in conjunction, as deities either of whom may represent those of the intermediate sphere.

Vāyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-veda. If we except the allegorical description in the Puruṣa Sūkta, x. 90, 13, where he is said to have sprung from the breath of Puruṣa; or unless we understand vii. 90, 3, to assert that he was produced by heaven and earth, there is no passage where the parentage of Vāyu is declared. He is, however, said to be the son-in-law of Tvashṭr (viii. 26, 21 f.), though his wife's name is not given. But few epithets are applied to him. He is called *darṣata*, "beautiful," or "conspicuous" (i. 2, 1), and *supsarastama*, "most handsome in form" (viii. 26, 24). He is described as *krandad-ishti*, "rushing noisily onwards" (x. 100, 2). Together with Indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (i. 23, 2, 3). He moves in a shining car (iv. 48, 1; i. 134, 1; i. 135, 4; iv. 47, 1), drawn by a pair of red or purple horses (i. 134, 3). His team, however, is often said to consist of ninety-nine, of a hundred, or even of a thousand horses, swift as thought (i. 135, 1, 3; ii. 41, 1; iv. 48, 4, 5;

vii. 91, 6; vii. 92, 1, 5). As before mentioned, Indra and Vāyu frequently occupy the same chariot (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2; vii. 81, 5), which has its framework of gold, which touches the sky, and is drawn by a thousand horses (iv. 46, 3, 4). Vāyu, like the other gods, is a drinker of soma. In fact, he alone, or in conjunction with Indra, seems to be entitled to the first draught of this libation (i. 134, 1; i. 135, 1, 4; iv. 46, 1; v. 43, 3; vii. 92, 2; viii. 26, 25). It is remarkable that Vāyu is but rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm; but in one place (i. 134, 4) he is said to have begotten them; and in another place (i. 142, 12) to be attended by Pūshan, the Maruts and the Viṣve devās.

The following hymns are addressed to Vāta (another name of the god of the wind). The imagery in the first is highly poetical:

x. 168. "1. (I celebrate) the glory of Vāta's chariot; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy: and he comes propelling the dust of the earth. 8. The gusts of the air rush after him, and congregate in him as women in an assembly. Sitting along with him on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along. 3. Hasting forward, by paths in the atmosphere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists.<sup>1</sup> His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vāta let us worship with an oblation."

x. 186. "1. Let Vāta, the wind, waft to us healing,<sup>2</sup> salutary, and auspicious, to our heart: may he prolong our lives. 2. And, Vāta, thou art our father, our brother, and our friend: cause us to live. 3. From the treasure of immortality, which is deposited yonder in thy house, O Vāta, give us to live."

Here the same property is ascribed to Vāta which is elsewhere ascribed to Rudra, that of bringing healing.

<sup>1</sup> Compare St. John's Gospel, iii. 8: "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Compare i. 89, 4.

## VIII. THE MARUTS.

The Maruts, or Rudras, the gods of the tempest, who form a large troop (viii. 85, 8), are the sons of Rudra and Prṣni<sup>1</sup> (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 42, 15; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 7, 3, 17; viii. 20, 17). They are, however, said to be like sons to Indra (i. 100, 5); and they are also called *sindhu-mâtaraḥ*, children of the ocean, whether we suppose this to be the aerial or terrestrial sea (x. 78, 6), and sons of heaven, *divac-putrâsaḥ* (x. 77, 2). They are frequently associated with Indra, as we have already seen (compare i. 23, 7, 8; i. 100, 1 ff.; i. 101, 1 ff.; i. 169, 1 ff.; iii. 32, 3, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 1 ff.; iii. 51, 7 ff.; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; v. 57, 1; vi. 19, 11; vii. 32, 10; vii. 42, 5; viii. 36, 1 ff.; viii. 52, 10; viii. 65, 1 ff.; viii. 78, 1 ff.; viii. 85, 7 ff.; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1 ff.; x. 99, 5; x. 113, 3); but they are also celebrated separately in numerous hymns (as i. 37; i. 38; i. 39; i. 64; i. 85; i. 86; i. 87; i. 88; i. 166; i. 167; i. 168; iii. 52; iii. 53; iii. 54; iii. 55; iii. 56; vii. 56; vii. 57; vii. 58, etc.) They are favourite deities of some of the rishis, and are often praised in highly poetical strains. They are like blazing fires, free from soil, of golden or tawny hue, and of sunlike brilliancy (vi. 66, 2; vii. 59, 11; viii. 7, 7). They are also compared to swans with black plumage (vii. 59, 7); and are sometimes said to be playful as children (i. 166, 2; x. 78, 6). They are thus apostrophized in v. 54, 11: "Spears rest upon your shoulders, ye Maruts; ye have anklets on your feet, golden ornaments on your breasts, fiery lightnings in your hands, and golden helmets<sup>2</sup> on your heads." (Compare i. 64, 4; i. 166, 10;

<sup>1</sup> This word is perhaps a personification of the speckled clouds. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 39, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> In ii. 34, 3, the epithet of *hiranya-siprâḥ* is applied to these deities. This Sâyaṇa explains by *suvarṇamaya-sīrastrāṇāḥ*, "with golden helmets." That one sense of *siprâ* (feminine) is "a head-dress, or a helmet," is settled by v. 54, 11, where the words are *siprâḥ śirśhasu vitatâḥ hiranyayih*, "golden helmets are stretched (or placed) upon your heads;" and also by viii. 7, 25, where it is said, *siprâḥ śirśhan hiranyayih . . . vyanjata grīye*, "they displayed for ornament golden helmets on their heads." In the first of these passages, Sâyaṇa interprets *siprâḥ* as meaning a "turban," in the second a "helmet." This shews that *siprâḥ*, in these texts at least, must mean something external to the head, and not a feature of

ii. 34, 2, 3; v. 53, 4; v. 55, 1; v. 57, 5, 6; v. 58, 2; vii. 56, 11, 13; viii. 7, 25; viii. 20, 4, 11, 22; x. 78, 2). They are armed with golden weapons, and with lightnings, dart thunderbolts, and are borne along with the fury of the winds (v. 54, 3; viii. 7, 4, 17, 32; x. 78, 2, 3); they split Vṛttra into fragments (viii. 7, 23); they are clothed with rain (v. 57, 4); they distribute showers all over the world, and avert heat (v. 54, 1; v. 55, 5; viii. 7, 4, 16). They open up a path for the sun (viii. 7, 8). They shake the mountains, the earth, and both the worlds (i. 37, 8; i. 39, 5; i. 87, 3; v. 54, 1, 3; v. 60, 2, 3; vii. 57, 1; viii. 7, 4; viii. 20, 5). They overturn trees, and, like wild elephants, they devour the forests (i. 39, 5; i. 64, 7). They have iron teeth (i. 88, 5); they roar like lions (i. 64, 8); all creatures are afraid of them (i. 85, 8). Their weapons are of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows (i. 37, 2; v. 57, 2). They are swift as thought (i. 85, 4). They ride, with whips in their hands (i. 37, 3), in golden cars (v. 57, 1),

the face, as it is often interpreted, when applied to Indra. Thus *susipra* is explained by Sāyana on i. 9, 3, as meaning *sobhana-hano sobhana-nāsika vā*, "having handsome jaws, or a handsome nose;" since Yāska, he says, makes *śipra* to mean one or other of these two parts of the face (Nirukta, vi. 17). The same explanation is given by Sāyana on i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; and i. 101, 10. On iii. 30, 3, however, the same commentator says: *śipra-sābdena śirastrānam abhīdhyate | sobhana-śirastrānopetaḥ | yadvā sobhana-hanumān* | "By the word *śipra*, a helmet is signified. *Susiprah* therefore means 'having a handsome helmet,' or it means 'having handsome jaws.' On iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; he returns to the latter interpretation. On viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; he again gives the alternative explanation as on iii. 30, 3.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *śipra* and its derivatives, of which the following are the most important parts: *Śipra* in the dual means jaws (i. 101, 10; iii. 32, 1; v. 36, 2; viii. 65, 10; x. 96, 9; x. 105, 5). *Śipravat* means "having large jaws" (vi. 17, 2). *Śiprin* means the same, and is used only of Indra (i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; iii. 36, 10, etc. etc). *Śiprinī*, as Prof. Aufrecht considers, means "a draught (imbibed by the jaws);" and he translates i. 30, 11, thus: ("Receive) our draughts, thunderer, soma-drinker, friend of thy friends the soma-drinkers." *Śiprinīvat* (x. 105, 5) will thus be "he who possesses the draught." *Śiprah* in v. 54, 11, and viii. 7, 25, are "visors," the two parts of which are compared to two jaws. *Ayāś-śipra*, used of the Rbhus (iv. 37, 4) will consequently mean "having iron visors." The word occurs in other compounds, to which I need not here refer.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the armour of India to know whether any thing like a visor was or is used by warriors in that country. It is, however, customary for the Hindus in particular circumstances (as for protection from the heat, and also from the cold, and for purposes of disguise) to wear their turbans not only wrapped horizontally round their heads, but also perpendicularly under their chins and over the tops of their heads, thus enclosing the sides of their faces



with golden wheels (i. 64, 11; i. 88, 5), drawn by ruddy and tawny horses (with which the chariots are said to be winged), and flashing forth lightnings (i. 88, 1, 2; v. 57, 4). The animals by which these chariots are described as being drawn are designated in some places by the epithet *prshatīh* (i. 37, 2; i. 39, 6; i. 85, 5; viii. 7, 28), which Prof. Wilson—following Sāyana on Rig-veda, i. 37, 2<sup>1</sup>—renders by “spotted deer.” But in i. 38, 12, the horses (*aṣvāsah*) of the Maruts are spoken of; as is also the case in viii. 7, 27, where they (the horses) are called *hirāṇya-pāṇibhih*, “golden-footed;” though in the next verse (28) the *prshatīh* are again spoken of, as well as a *prashtīh rohitaḥ*, which Sāyana understands to denote either a swift buck, or a buck yoked as a leader to the does. In i. 87, 4, the troop of Maruts itself receives the epithet *prshad-aṣva*, “having spotted horses.” This is, indeed, explained by Sāyana in the sense of “having does marked with white spots instead of horses;”<sup>2</sup> but in his notes on v. 54, 2, 10, and v. 55, 1, where the Maruts’ horses are again spoken of, he does not repeat this explanation. In v. 55, 6, where the Maruts are described as having yoked *prshatīh* (feminine) as horses (*aṣvān*, masculine) to their chariots, Sāyana says we may either understand “spotted mares,” or suppose the word “horse” to stand for doe (*prshatīh . . prshad-varṇā vadavāh | sārāṅgī vā atra aṣva-śabda-vāchya*). In his note on *prshatībhih* in ii. 34, 3, he says they may be either does marked with white spots, or mares; and he interprets *prshatīh* in v. 57, 3, by *aṣvāh*, mares. Professor Aufrecht, who has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *prshatīh*, is of opinion, that, looking to all the passages where it occurs in connection with the Maruts, it must mean mares.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Prshatyo vindu-yuktā mrgyo Marut-vāhana-bhūtīh | “prshatyo Marutīm” itī Nighaṇṭū uktatvāt |* See also his note on the same word in ii. 34, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Benfey, in his translation of this verse (Orient. und Occident, ii. 250) retains the sense of antilopes. In vii. 56, 1, the Maruts are styled *svaṣvāh*, “having good horses,” which Sāyana explains *śobhana-vāhāh*, “having good carriers.”

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of passages regarding the sense of the words *prshad-aṣva* and *prshat*, as Rāyamukṣa on Amara, the Vāj. Sanh. xxiv. 11, 18; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 5, 1, 10, and v. 5, 2, 9. He has also indicated another verse of the Rig-veda (v. 58, 6) where *prshatībhis* in the feminine is joined with *aṣvāh* in the masculine; and remarks that viii. 54, 10, 11, could not

Some traces are perceptible in the Rig-veda of a dispute between the votaries of the Maruts and those of Indra in regard to their respective claims to worship. Thus in hymns 165 and 170 of the first book of the R.V. we find dialogues in the first case between Indra and the Maruts, and in the second between Indra and Agastya, regarding the respective claims of these deities to worship. In i. 165, 6, Indra asks, "Where was your inherent power, ye Maruts, when ye left me alone<sup>1</sup> in the conflict with Ahi? It was I who, fierce, strong, and energetic, overturned my enemies with my shafts." The Maruts rejoin: "7. Vigorous god, thou hast done great things with us for thy helpers, through our equal valour; for, O strong Indra, we Maruts by our power perform many great exploits when we desire." Indra replies: "8. By my own prowess, Maruts, I slew Vṛtra, mighty in my wrath," etc.

Of hymn i. 170, the Nirukta says, i. 5, that "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On which Indra came and complained." The Maruts reply, v. 2: "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray."<sup>2</sup> Indra then says to Agastya, v. 3: "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend, disregard us? For we know how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything."—(See Roth's *Elucidations of Nirukta*, p. 6.)

In the following passages the Maruts are said to worship Indra, viz.: iii. 32, 3; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; vi. 17, 11; viii. 3, 7; viii. 78, 1; viii. 78, 3.

#### IX. SŪRYA AND SAVITR.

The great powers presiding over day and night are, as we have seen above, supposed by the Indian Commentators to be personified in Mitra and Varuṇa. But these deities, and

mean that the rishi received a thousand antelopes. Prof. Roth appears, from a remark under the word *eta* (vol. i. p. 1091 of his *Dict.*) to regard *prshatyaḥ* as a kind of deer.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See Roth on this text, *s.v.* *kālp*.

especially Varuṇa, as described in the Veda, are far more than the mere representatives of day and night. They are also recognized as moral governors, as well as superintendents of physical phenomena. There are two other gods (also, as has been already noticed, reckoned in a few passages as belonging to the Âdityas),<sup>1</sup> who are exact personifications of the sun, viz.: Sûrya and Savitr. It is under these two different appellations that the sun is chiefly celebrated in the Rig Veda; and although it may be difficult to perceive why the one name should be used in any particular case rather than the other, the application of the names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the aspect under which the sun is conceived, or on some diversity in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling. Different sets of hymns are, at any rate, devoted to his worship under each of these names, and the epithets which are applied to him in each of these characters are for the most part separate. In some few places, both these two names, and occasionally some others, appear to be applied to the solar deity indiscriminately, but in most cases the distinction between them is nominally, at least, preserved.

The principal hymns, or portions of hymns, in praise of Sûrya are the following:—i. 50, 1-13; i. 115, 1-6; iv. 13, 1-3; iv. 45, 6; v. 5, 6, 8, 9; v. 45, 9, 10; v. 59, 5; vii. 60, 1-4; x. 37, 1 ff. He is treated in Nirukta, xii. 14-16.

Sûrya is described as moving on a car, which is sometimes said to be drawn by one, and sometimes by several, or by seven fleet horses<sup>2</sup> (i. 115, 3, 4; vii. 60, 3; vii. 63, 2; ix. 63, 8; x. 37, 3; x. 49, 7. His path is prepared by the Âdityas, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (i. 24, 8; vii. 60, 4; vii. 87, 1). Pûshan goes as his messenger with his golden ships, which sail in the aerial ocean (vi. 58, 3). He is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving

<sup>1</sup> In x. 88, 11, Sûrya is styled Âditeya; and in viii. 90, 11, Âditya. In other places, viii. 35 ff. and 13 ff., he is mentioned separately from the Âdityas; but so also is Varuṇa in viii. 35, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Indra is said to traverse the sky with the sun's horses (x. 49, 7). Compare Ovid's description of Phaethon's horses, Metam. ii. 153.

(i. 115, 1; vii. 60, 2) and the vivifier (*prasavitā*<sup>1</sup>) of men (vii. 63, 2, 4). He is far-seeing, all-seeing;<sup>2</sup> beholds all creatures and the good and bad deeds of mortals (iv. 1, 7; vi. 51, 2; vii. 35, 8; vii. 60, 2; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1, 4; x. 37, 1). He is the eye<sup>3</sup> of Mitra and Varuṇa (i. 115, 1;<sup>4</sup> vi. 51, 1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1. Compare vii. 76, 1; x. 10, 9; x. 16, 3). He knows the three spheres and separate races of the gods (vi. 51, 2). He upholds the sky (x. 85, 1). He rolls up darkness like a hide (vii. 63, 1). He is said to be, through his greatness, the divine leader or priest (*asuryaḥ purohitah*) of the gods (viii. 90, 12). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Indra. In x. 170, 4, the epithets *viṣvakarman*, the architect of the universe, and *viṣvadevyavat*, the sovereign deity, are applied to him (as in viii. 87, 2, Indra also is styled *viṣvakarman* and *viṣvadevaḥ*). In vii. 60, 1, and vii. 62, 2, he is said to declare men sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, etc.

In many passages, however, the dependent position of Sūrya is asserted. Thus he is said to have been produced, or caused to shine, or to rise, or to have his path prepared, etc., by Indra (ii. 12, 7; iii. 31, 15; iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 2; iii. 49, 4; vi. 17, 5; viii. 78, 7;<sup>5</sup> viii. 87, 2; x. 171, 4); by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2); by Agni (x. 3, 2; x. 88, 6; x. 156, 4); by Soma (vi. 44, 23; ix. 63, 7; ix. 75, 1; ix. 86, 29; ix. 96, 5; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3); by Dhātṛ (x. 190, 3); by Varuṇa (i. 24, 8; vii. 87, 1); by Mitra and Varuṇa (iv. 13, 2; v. 63, 4, 7; vii. 82, 3); and by the Angirases through their rites (x. 62, 3). He is declared to be god-born (x. 37, 1), to be the son of the sky (ibid.), to have been drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden (x. 72, 7), to have been

<sup>1</sup> This word and others derived from the same root *sá*, are, as we shall shortly see, very frequently applied to Savitr. In x. 66, 2, the gods are said to be *Indra-prasūtāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> The classical poets also describe the sun as all-seeing. See Æschylus, Prom. 91, Homer, Iliad, iii. 277; xiv. 344; Odyssey, viii. 270. Ovid, Metam. iv. 171 f., 196 f.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the expression of Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 265 (quoted by M. Müller, Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 53), *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*. κ.τ.λ.

<sup>4</sup> In this verse he is said to be also the eye of Agni.

<sup>5</sup> In his note on this passage (viii. 78, 7) Sâyana relates a legend, that formerly the Panis had carried off the cows of the Angirases, and placed them on a mountain enveloped in darkness, when Indra, after being lauded by the Angirases, and supplicated to restore the cows, caused the sun to rise that he might see them.

placed by the gods in heaven (x. 88, 11, where he is identified with Agni); and to have sprung from the eye of Purusha (x. 90, 13). He is also said to have been overcome by Indra (x. 43, 5; iv. 30, 6), who carried off one of the wheels of his chariot (i. 175, 4).<sup>1</sup>

Ushas is in one place said to be his wife (vii. 75, 5); while in another passage (vii. 78, 3) the Dawns are by a natural figure declared to produce him, and in a third passage to reveal him (vii. 80, 2).

The Atharva Veda contains a long hymn to Sûrya, xiii. 2.

The Mahâbhârata (iii. 166 ff.) has a hymn to the same god, in which he is styled the eye of the world, and the soul of all embodied beings (v. 166); and his divine chariot is referred to (v. 170).

#### SAVITR.

The hymns which are devoted to the celebration of Savitr are the following: i. 35; ii. 38; iv. 53; iv. 54; v. 81; v. 82; vii. 38; vii. 45; vii. 63; with many detached passages and verses, such as, i. 22, 5-8; iii. 56, 6, 7; iii. 62, 10-13, etc. etc.

The epithets, characteristics, and functions of this god, as described in the Rig Veda, are as follows:

He is pre-eminently the golden deity, being *hiranyâksha*, golden-eyed (i. 35, 8); *hiranya-pâni*,<sup>2</sup> *hiranya-hasta*, golden-handed (i. 22, 5; i. 35, 9, 10; iii. 54, 11; vi. 50, 8; vi. 71, 4; vii. 38, 2); *hiranya-jihva*, golden-tongued (vi. 71, 3); *sujihva*, beautiful-tongued (iii. 54, 11; vii. 45, 4); *mandra-jihva*, pleasant-tongued (vi. 71, 4). He invests himself with golden or tawny mail (*piṣaṅgam drâpim*, iv. 53, 2); and assumes all forms (v. 81, 2). He is also *harikeṣa*, the yellow-haired (x. 139, 1). Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car

<sup>1</sup> See iv. 17, 14; vi. 56, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See the tasteless explanations of this epithet given by the commentator and the Kaushitaki Brâhmaṇa, as mentioned in Rosen's and Wilson's notes on i. 22, 5; and see also Weber's *Ind. Studien*, ii. 306. The same epithet is given to Savitr in the Vâj. Sanhitâ, i. 16, where see the commentary. Savitr is also called *prthupâni*, broad-handed (ii. 38, 2), and *supâni*, beautiful-handed (iii. 33, 6; vii. 45, 4). Tvashtṛ, too, is called *supâni* (iii. 54, 12), as are also Mitra and Varuṇa (iii. 56, 7).



(i. 35, 2, 4, 5) drawn by radiant horses (*ib. vv.* 3, 5; and vii. 45, 1); and beholding all creatures, he pursues an upward and a downward path (i. 35, 2, 3). Surrounded by a golden lustre (iii. 31, 8; vii. 38, 1; vii. 45, 3), he illuminates the atmosphere, and all the regions of the earth (i. 35, 7, 8; iv. 14, 2; iv. 53, 4; v. 81, 2). His golden arms,<sup>1</sup> which he stretches out to infuse energy into all creatures, reach to the utmost ends of heaven (ii. 38, 2; iv. 53, 3, 4; vi. 71, 1, 5; vii. 45, 2). In one place, however, (vi. 71, 4), he is called *ayohanu*, the iron-jawed, though even there the commentator says that *ayas*, which ordinarily means iron, is to be rendered by gold. His ancient paths in the sky are said to be free from dust (i. 35, 11). He is called (like Varuṇa and others of the gods) *asura*, a divine spirit (i. 35, 7, 10; iv. 53, 1). His will and independent authority cannot be resisted by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, or by any other being (ii. 38, 7, 9; v. 82, 2). He observes fixed laws (iv. 53, 4; x. 34, 8; x. 139, 3). The other gods follow his course (v. 81, 3). The waters and the wind obey his ordinance (ii. 38, 2). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, by Aditi, by the royal Varuṇa, by Mitra and by Aryaman (vii. 38, 3, 4). He is lord of all desirable things (i. 24, 3), and sends blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth (ii. 38, 11). He impels the car of the Aṣvins before the dawn (i. 34, 10). He is *prajāpati*,<sup>2</sup> the lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and of the world (iv. 53, 2; iv. 54, 4; x. 149, 1, 4).<sup>3</sup> He measures the mundane regions (v. 81, 3). He bestows immortality on the gods (iv. 54, 2 = Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 54) as

<sup>1</sup> Indra, too, is called *hiranya-bāhu*, golden-armed, vii. 34, 4. Agni is said to raise aloft his arms like Savitr, i. 95, 7. In vii. 79, 2, the Dawns are said to send forth light as Savitr stretches out his arms. In i. 190, 3, also the arms of Savitr are alluded to. In vii. 62, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are supplicated to stretch out their arms.

<sup>2</sup> In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 1 (p. 117), it is said, *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajā asṛjata*; "Prajāpati, becoming Savitr, created living beings." On the relation of Savitr and Prajāpati see Weber, "Omina und Portenta," pp. 386, 392; and the passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 3, 5, 1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitr with Prajāpati, *Yo hy eva Savitā sa Prajāpatir iti vadantah*, etc. etc.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether it is Savitr or the aerial ocean (*samudra*) from which earth, atmosphere, and sky are said in x. 149, 2, to have sprung. See Orig. Sansk. Texts, iv. 96.

he did on the R̥bhus (i. 110, 3). He is supplicated to deliver his worshippers from sin (iv. 54, 3).

Savitṛ is sometimes called *apām napāt*, son of the waters, an epithet which is more commonly applied to Agni.

The word Savitṛ is defined by Yāska (Nirukta, x. 31) as meaning *sarvasya prasavitā*, but he does not explain in what sense *prasavitā* is to be taken. The root *su* or *sū* from which it is derived has three principal significations, (1) to generate or bring forth; (2) to pour forth a libation; and (3) to send or impel. When treating of the derivatives of this root as applied to Savitṛ, Śāyana sometimes gives them the sense of sending or impelling, and sometimes of permitting or authorizing (*anuññā*). In a few places he explains the root as meaning to beget. (Thus on i. 113, 1, he renders *prasūtā* by *utpannā*, and *savah* by *utpattiḥ*). The word *prasavitṛ*, as well as various other derivatives of the root *su*, are introduced in numerous passages of the Rig Veda relating to the god Savitṛ, with evident reference to the derivation of that name from the same root, and with a constant play upon the words,<sup>1</sup> such as is unexampled in the case of any other deity.

The following are some of the passages of the Rig Veda in which these derivatives occur :

i. 124, 1. "The god Savitṛ hath impelled or aroused (*prāsāvit*) our two-footed and four-footed property to go."

i. 157, 1. "The god Savitṛ has aroused (*prāsāvit*) each moving thing" (*jagat* : comp. i. 159, 3).

v. 81, 2 (=Vāj. Sanh. xii. 3). "The wise (Savitṛ) puts on (or, manifests) all forms. He hath sent (*prāsāvit*) prosperity to biped and quadruped. The eminent Savitṛ has illuminated the sky. He shines after the path of the Dawn." 5. "Thou alone art the lord of vivifying power (*prasavasya*).

i. 159, 5. "That desirable wealth we to-day seek through the vivifying power (*prasave*) of the divine Savitṛ."

<sup>1</sup> See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 76. I cannot say whether this feature in the hymns in question affords any sufficient ground for regarding them as artificial in character, and consequently as comparatively late in their origin. To form a judgment on this point, it would be necessary to compare them in other respects with the other hymns.

iii. 33, 6 (Nir. ii. 26). "The god Savitr hath led (us, *i.e.* the waters); by his propulsion (*prasave*) we flow on broadly."

ii. 38, 1. "The god Savitr hath arisen to impel (or vivify, *savāya*) us, he who continually so works, the supporter."

viii. 91, 6. "I invoke the sea-clothed Agni, as (I invoke) the vivifying power (*savam*<sup>1</sup>) of Savitr, and the enjoyments of Bhaga."

iii. 56, 6. "Thrice every day, O Savitr, send (*āsuva*) us desirable things from the sky. . . . . 7. Thrice Savitr continues to send down (these things to us) from the sky; and so also do the fair-handed Mitra and Varuna. Even the waters, even the spacious heaven and earth, have solicited wealth to (call forth?) the vivifying power (*savāya*) of Savitr."

iv. 53, 3. "Savitr hath stretched out his arms in his vivifying energy (*sacimani*<sup>2</sup>), stablishing and vivifying (*prasuvan*) all that moves, by his rays. . . . . 6. May that god Savitr who bestows great happiness, the vivifier (*prasavitā*), the stablisher, who is lord both of that which moves and of that which is stationary, bestow on us protection."

iv. 54, 3. "Whatever (offence) we have committed . . . . against gods or men, do thou, O Savitr, render (*svatāt*) us sinless."

v. 82, 3. "For he, Savitr, who is Bhaga, (or the adorable, *bhaga*), sends (*svāti*) wealth to his worshipper. . . . . 5. Send (*sāvīh*) to-day, O divine Savitr, prosperity with progeny: send away (*parā suva*) sleeplessness (comp. x. 37, 4). 5. Send away (*parā suva*), O divine Savitr, all calamities; send (*āsuva*) us what is good. 6. May we, being sinless to Aditi, through the influence (*sava*) of the divine Savitr, possess all things desirable. 7. We worship to-day, with hymns, Savitr, who possesses true energy (*satya-sava*<sup>3</sup>), the god of all (gods), the lord of the good."

vi. 71, 1. "The potent god Savitr hath stretched out his golden arms to vivify (or impart energy, *savanāya*) . . . .

<sup>1</sup> In i. 164, 26, and ix. 67, 25, particularly in the latter passage, *sava* may mean a libation of soma.

<sup>2</sup> This word also occurs in Sāma Veda, i. 464.

<sup>3</sup> The same epithet is applied to him in x. 36, 13. It occurs also in the Sāma Veda, i. 464.

2. May we abide (have a share ?) in the excellent vivifying power (*savîmani*; compare x. 36, 12) of the god Savitr, and in the bestowal of wealth by thee, who continuest to establish and vivify (*niveṣane prasave cha*) the entire two-footed and four-footed world . . . . 4. This god Savitr . . . . sends (*suṇati*) to his worshipper many desirable things . . . . 6. Send (*sāvîḥ*) to us to-day, Savitr, what is desirable; send it to us to-morrow, and every day."

vii. 38, 2. "Rise, Savitr, . . . . sending (*āsuṇāna*) to men the food which is fit for mortals. 4. Whom (*i.e.* Savitr) the goddess Aditi praises, desiring the vivifying power (*savam*) of the divine Savitr."

vii. 40, 1. "May we partake in the distribution (of wealth) which the opulent god Savitr shall send (*suṇāti*) to-day."

vii. 45, 1. "May the god Savitr approach, rich in gems, filling the atmosphere, borne by horses, holding in his hand many gifts suitable for men, stablishing and vivifying (*prasuvan*) the world. 3. The powerful god Savitr, lord of wealth, hath sent (*sāvishat*) us riches."

x. 35, 7. "Send (*āsuva*) us to-day, O god Savitr, a most excellent and desirable portion," etc.

x. 36, 4. "May Savitr send (*suṇatu*) all prosperity," etc.

x. 64, 7. "For they (Vāyu and Pūshan), with one heart and one mind, seek after strength in the vivifying power (*savîmani*) of the god Savitr."

x. 100, 8. "May Savitr remove (*apasāvishat*) sickness."

x. 139, 1. "Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitr raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy (*prasave*) the wise Pūshan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian."

The preceding passages will suffice to show the extent to which this play on words is carried in the hymns addressed to Savitr.

Derivatives from the same root are, as we have already seen, also applied to Sūrya, as *prasavitā* and *prasūtāḥ*, in R. V. vii. 63, 2 and 4; and *apasuva* in x. 37, 4; to Indra (*haryaṣva-prasūtāḥ*, iii. 30, 12); to Varuṇa (*parāsuva*, ii. 28, 9); and to Mitra, Aryaman, Savitr, and Bhaga (*suṇati*, vii. 66, 4).

In vii. 77, 1, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to incite (*prasuvantî*) all life to motion. In viii. 18, 1, the impulse, vivifying power, or favouring aid (*savitmani*) of the Âdityas is referred to.

Savitṛ is sometimes expressly distinguished from Sûrya. Thus he is said in i. 35, 9, to approach or (according to Benfey's rendering) to bring the sun (Sûrya);<sup>1</sup> in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless to the sun (Sûrya); and in v. 81, 4, to combine with the rays of the sun (Sûrya). In explanation of the last passage, Sâyana remarks, that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛ, and at his rising and setting, Sûrya. And similarly Yâska says (Nirukta xii. 12) that "the time of Savitṛ's appearance is when darkness has been removed, and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky;" and in proof of this he refers to v. 81, 2, quoted above. It is scarcely consistent with this explanation, however, that in vii. 66, 4, Savitṛ is said, along with Mitra (the god of the day), and Aryaman and Bhaga, to bestow blessings after the rising of the sun. Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitṛ is termed *sûrya-raṣmi*, "invested with the rays of Sûrya;" and in vii. 35, 8 and 10, as well as x. 181, 1, the two gods are separately mentioned. In other texts, however, the two names appear to denote the same deity, as in i. 35, 7; i. 124, 1; iv. 14, 2; x. 158, 1-5; and vii. 66, 1-4 (where the functions expressed by the derivatives of the root *su*, which, as we have seen, are most generally assigned to Savitṛ, are predicated of Sûrya). In i. 157, 1, it is not very clear whether the two names are to be understood of one god, or of two.

In v. 81, 4 and 5, Savitṛ is identified with Mitra and Pûshan, or is, at least, described as fulfilling the proper function of those gods. And similarly in v. 82, 1, 3; and vii. 38, 1, 6 (unless *bhaga* is a simple epithet), Savitṛ is identified with the god of that name. On the other hand, he is clearly distinguished from these and other deities, in such texts as

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana remarks here that, though the godhead of Savitṛ and Sûrya is identical, they may yet, from their representing different forms, be spoken of as respectively approaching and approached.

<sup>2</sup> As in another place (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and Aditi, to declare the worshippers sinless to Varuṇa.



iii. 54, 11, 12; vi. 21, 9; vi. 49, 14; vi. 50, 1, 13; viii. 18, 3; viii. 91, 6; x. 139, 1.

The word Savitr is not always a proper name; but is sometimes used as an epithet. Thus in ii. 30, 1, it seems to express an attribute of Indra; and in iii. 55, 19, and x. 10, 5, to be, as well as *viṣṭarūpa*, an epithet of Tvashṭr.

## X. AGNI.

Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig Veda, as the hymns addressed to him far exceed in number those which are devoted to the celebration of any other divinity, with the sole exception of Indra. Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods (an office which, as we shall presently see, is in the Veda assigned to Tvashṭr), but derives his principal importance from his connection with the ceremonial of sacrifice. He is an immortal (i. 44, 6; i. 58, 1; ii. 10, 1, 2; iii. 2, 11; iii. 3, 1; iii. 11, 2; iii. 27, 5, 7; vi. 9, 4; vii. 4, 4; x. 79, 1), who has taken up his abode among mortals as their guest (i. 44, 4; i. 58, 6; ii. 4, 1; iii. 2, 2; iv. 1, 20; v. 1, 8; v. 8, 2; v. 18, 1; vi. 2, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4; vii. 8, 4; viii. 73, 1; x. 1, 5; x. 91, 2). He is the domestic priest, *purohita*, *ṛtvik*, *hotr*, *brahman* (i. 1, 1, 3, 8; i. 12, 1; i. 13, 1, 4; i. 26, 7; i. 36, 3, 5; i. 44, 1, 7, 9, 12; i. 45, 7; i. 58, 1, 6; i. 60, 4; i. 68, 4; i. 74, 6; i. 127, 1; i. 141, 1, 12; i. 149, 4, 5; i. 188, 3; ii. 5, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 1; iii. 4, 1; iii. 7, 9; iii. 14, 1; iii. 19, 1; iii. 10, 2, 9; iii. 11, 1; iv. 1, 8; v. 11, 2; v. 26, 7; vi. 15, 4, 13; vi. 16, 6; vii. 7, 5; vii. 10, 2; vii. 11, 5; vii. 16, 5, 12; viii. 44, 6; viii. 49, 1; ix. 66, 20; x. 1, 6), appointed both by men and gods, who performs in a higher sense all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigned to a number of different functionaries (i. 94, 6; ii. 1, 2; ii. 5, 2, 3; iv. 1, 8; iv. 9, 3, 4; x. 2, 2; x. 91, 10). He is a sage, the divinest among sages (*asuro vipaśchitām*, iii. 3, 4), intimately acquainted with all the forms of worship, the wise director, the successful accomplisher, and the protector, of all

ceremonies (i. 1, 4; i. 31, 1; iii. 3, 3; iii. 21, 3; iii. 27, 2, 7, 8; x. 91, 3, 8; vi. 14, 2; vii. 4, 4), who enables men to serve the gods in a correct and acceptable manner, in cases where this would be beyond their own unaided skill (x. 2, 3-5). He is the father, king, ruler, banner, or outward manifestation (*ketu*),<sup>1</sup> and superintendent, of sacrifices and religious duties (iii. 3, 3, 4; iii. 10, 4; iii. 11, 2; iv. 3, 1; vi. 2, 3; viii. 43, 24; x. 1, 5; x. 6, 3). He is also the religious leader or priest of the gods (x. 110, 11; x. 150, 4). He is a swift (*raghupatvā*, x. 6, 4) messenger, moving between heaven and earth, appointed both by gods and by men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the gods the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations, of their worshippers (i. 12, 1, 2, 4, 8; i. 27, 4; i. 36, 3, 4, 5; i. 44, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12; i. 58, 1; i. 74, 4, 7; i. 188, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 2; ii. 10, 6; iii. 5, 2, 11; iii. 6, 5; iii. 8, 6; iii. 9, 8; iii. 11, 2; iii. 17, 4; iii. 21, 1, 5; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 3; iv. 7, 8; iv. 8, 2, 4; v. 8, 6; v. 21, 3; vi. 15, 8-10; vii. 11, 4; vii. 16, 4; vii. 17, 6; viii. 19, 21; viii. 23, 18, 19; viii. 39, 1, 9; viii. 44, 3; x. 4, 2; x. 46, 10; x. 91, 11; x. 122, 7). Being acquainted with the innermost recesses of the sky (iv. 8, 2, 4), he is well fitted to summon the gods to the sacrifices; and he comes with them seated on the same car (iii. 4, 11; vii. 11, 1), or in advance of them (x. 70, 2). He brings Varuṇa to the ceremony, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (x. 70, 11). Without him the gods experience no satisfaction (vii. 11, 1). He himself offers them worship (vii. 11, 3; viii. 91, 16; x. 7, 6). He is the mouth and tongue through which both gods and men taste the sacrifices (ii. 1, 13, 14). He is elsewhere asked to eat the offerings himself (iii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 28, 2-6), and invited to drink the soma-juice (i. 14, 10; i. 19, 9; i. 21, 1, 3).

The 51st hymn of the tenth book contains a dialogue between Agni and the other gods, in which they give utterance to their desire that he would come forth from his concealment,

<sup>1</sup> His father begot him (*janitā tvā jajāna*) to be the revelation and brilliant banner of all sacrifices. With the phrase, *janitā tvā jajāna*, compare the expressions in x. 20, 9, also relating to Agni, and in iv. 17, 4, relating to Indra.

and try to persuade him to appear and convey to them the customary oblations. After he has expressed some timid apprehension (*vv.* 4, 6), he is induced (as it would seem) by the promise of long life and a share in the sacrifice to accede to their request. In the next following hymn (the 52nd) Agni proclaims himself the master of the ceremonies, declares himself ready to obey the commands of the gods, and asks how and by what path he can bring them the oblations. Agni is the lord, protector, and leader of the people, *viṣpati*, *viṣām gopā*, *viṣām pura etā* (i. 12, 2; i. 26, 7; i. 31, 11; i. 96, 4; ii. 1, 8; iii. 11, 5); the king or monarch, or king of men (i. 59, 5; ii. 1, 8; iii. 10, 1; v. 4, 1; vi. 7, 1; vii. 8, 1; viii. 43, 24). He is also the lord of the house, *gr̥hapati*, dwelling in every abode (i. 12, 6; i. 36, 5; i. 60, 4; v. 8, 2; vii. 15, 2; x. 91, 2). He is a father, mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (i. 26, 3; i. 31, 10, 14, 16; i. 75, 4; ii. 1, 9; vi. 1, 5; viii. 43, 16; viii. 64, 16; x. 7, 3); and some worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or demons (iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87, 1; x. 187, 3). In hymn x. 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (*v.* 9), and to consume the Rakshases and Yātudhānas by the most terrible manifestations of his fury (*passim*).

Various, though not necessarily inconsistent, accounts are given in the hymns of the birth of Agni. Sometimes a divine origin is ascribed to him, while at other times his production, or at least his manifestation, is ascribed to the use of the ordinary human appliances. Thus he is said to have been brought from the sky by Mātariṣvan<sup>1</sup> (i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 143, 2; i. 148, 1; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4), to have been generated by Indra between two clouds (ii. 12, 3); to have been generated by the sky (x. 45, 8), to be the son of heaven and earth (iii. 2, 2; iii. 25, 1; x. 1, 2, 7; x. 2, 7; x. 140, 1), whom he magnified on [or by] his birth (iii. 3, 11). His production is also said to be due to the waters (x. 2, 7; x. 91, 6), and to Tvashṭr (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7). He is elsewhere said to have

<sup>1</sup> See my article on Manu in vol. xx. of this Journal, p. 416, note. In one place (vii. 15, 4) he is called the falcon of the sky (*divaḥ syenāya*).

been generated by the gods (vi. 7, 1; viii. 91, 17), as a light to the Ārya (i. 59, 2), or placed by the gods among the tribes of Manu (i. 36, 10; ii. 4, 3; vi. 16, 1; viii. 73, 2). Yet although the son, he is also the father of the gods (i. 69, 1). In viii. 19, 33, his superiority to other fires is shewn by their being declared to be parts of him.

In other passages, however, as in iii. 29, 1 ff., the process of friction, by which the god is daily generated by his worshippers, is described (compare i. 44, 7; i. 68, 2; iii. 23, 2-4; vii. 1, 1; viii. 49, 15). He is produced from two sticks<sup>1</sup> as an infant (v. 9, 3; viii. 23, 25). Strange to say, the child immediately begins, with unnatural voracity, to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension (x. 79, 4). Like the wriggling brood of a serpent, however, he is sometimes difficult to catch (v. 9, 4). Wonderful is his growth, seeing that he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him (x. 115, 1); but he is nourished and increased by oblations of clarified butter (iii. 21, 1 ff.; v. 11, 3; v. 14, 6; viii. 39, 3; viii. 43, 10, 22; viii. 44, 1; viii. 63, 2; x. 118, 4, 6. He himself is made by the poet to say "butter is my eye" (iii. 26, 7). His epithets are various, and for the most part descriptive of his physical characteristics. He is *ghrtānah*, butter-fed (vii. 3, 1; x. 69, 2); *ghṛta-nirṇik*, butter-formed (iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 5; x. 122, 2); *ghṛta-keṣa*, butter-haired (viii. 49, 2); *ghṛta-prsthā*, butter-backed (v. 4, 3; v. 37, 1; vii. 2, 4; x. 122, 4); *ghṛtapratīka*, gleaming with butter (iii. 1, 8; v. 11, 1; x. 21, 7); *ghṛta-yoni*, issuing from butter (v. 8, 6); *dhūma-ketu*, smoke-bannered (i. 27, 11; i. 44, 3; i. 94, 10; v. 11, 3; viii. 43, 4; viii. 44, 10; x. 4, 5; x. 12, 2); he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the

<sup>1</sup> Hence, perhaps, it is that he is called *avi-mātā*, born of two parents (i. 31, 2; 5); and *avi-janmā*, having a double birth (i. 60, 1; i. 149, 4, 5). He is, however, also called *bhūrijanmā*, having many births (x. 5, 2). In R.V. i. 95, 2, he is said to be produced by the ten young women, i.e. the ten fingers. See Roth, *Illustrations of Nirukta*, p. 120; Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, ii. 510; and Roth's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Tvashtṛ*.

In regard to the persons or families by whom the sacrificial fire is supposed to have been first kindled, and the rites of Aryan worship introduced, viz., Manu, Angiras, Bhṛgu, Atharvan, Dadhyanch, etc., see my paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," in vol. xx. of this Journal, pp. 410-416. In viii. 22, 17, Kāśya Uṣanas is said to have established Agni to perform invocations on behalf of men.

sky (iv. 6, 2; vii. 2, 1; vii. 3, 3; vii. 16, 3); his smoke is waving, his flame cannot be seized (viii. 23, 1); he is driven by the wind (i. 58, 4, 5; i. 65, 8). He is a destroyer of darkness (i. 140, 1), and sees through the gloom of the night (i. 94, 7). The world which had been swallowed up and enveloped in darkness, and the heavens, are manifested at his appearance, and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants rejoice in his friendship (x. 88, 2). He is *chitra-bhānu*, *chitra-śochih*, of varied lustre or blaze (i. 27, 6; ii. 10, 2; v. 26, 2; vi. 10, 3; vii. 9, 3; vii. 12, 1; viii. 19, 2), *ūrdhva-śochis*, upward-flaming (vi. 15, 2), *śukra-śochih*, bright-flaming (vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 20), *pāvaka-śochis*, with purifying flames (viii. 43, 31), *śukra-varṇa*, *śuchi-varṇa*, bright coloured (i. 140, 1; v. 2, 3), *śochish-keśa*, with blazing hair (i. 45, 6; iii. 14, 1; iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 4; v. 8, 2), *hari-keśa*, with tawny hair (iii. 2, 13), golden-formed (iv. 3, 1; x. 20, 9; *hiranya-rūpam janitā jajāna*), and *hīri-śmasru*, with golden beard (v. 7, 7). He carries sharp weapons (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 3), he has sharp teeth (i. 79, 6; i. 143, 5; iv. 5, 4; iv. 15, 5; viii. 19, 22), burning teeth (i. 58, 4; viii. 23, 4), brilliant teeth (v. 7, 7), golden teeth (v. 2, 3), iron grinders (x. 87, 2), and sharp and consuming jaws (viii. 49, 13; x. 79, 1). According to one passage, he is footless, and headless (iv. 1, 12); and yet he is elsewhere said to have a burning head (vii. 3, 1), three heads and seven rays (i. 146, 1; ii. 5, 2), to be four-eyed (i. 31, 13), thousand-eyed (i. 79, 12), and thousand-horned (v. 1, 8).<sup>1</sup> He is *kr̥ṣṇādhvan*, *kr̥ṣṇa-varṭtani*, *kr̥ṣṇa-pavi*, i.e. his path and his wheels are marked by blackness (ii. 4, 6; vi. 10, 4; vii. 8, 1; viii. 23, 19); he envelopes the woods, consumes and blackens them with his tongue (vi. 60, 10; x. 79, 2); he is all-devouring (viii. 44, 26); driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth (i. 65, 4), like a barber shaving a beard (x. 142, 4). He causes terror, like an army let loose (i. 66, 8;

<sup>1</sup> In one place (viii. 19, 32) Agni is called *sahasra-mūṣhka*, which the commentator explains by *bahu-tejaska*, having many flames. The same epithet is, in E. V. vi. 46, 3, applied to Indra, where Śāyana makes it equivalent to: *sahasra-śepha*, mille membra genitalia habens; and quotes, in proof of this sense, a passage from the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa.



i. 143, 5). His flames roar like the waves of the sea (i. 44, 12; compare i. 58, 4). He sounds like thunder (vii. 3, 6; x. 45, 4), and roars like the wind (viii. 91, 5), like the Maruts (i. 143, 5), like a lion (iii. 2, 11), and like a bull, and the birds are terrified at his ravages (i. 94, 4, 5). He has a hundred manifestations (*śatātma*), and shines like the sun (i. 149, 4; vii. 3, 6). He is compared to the lightning (i. 143, 5; x. 91, 5), and is borne on a chariot of lightning (iii. 14, 1). His car is luminous<sup>1</sup> (i. 140, 1; i. 141, 12; iii. 3, 5; compare v. 1, 11), variegated (x. 1, 5), golden (iv. 1, 8), beautiful (iii. 3, 9; iv. 2, 4). This car is drawn by swift, beautiful, ruddy, tawny, or omniform horses (i. 14, 6, 12; i. 45, 2; i. 94, 10; i. 141, 12; ii. 4, 2; ii. 8, 1; ii. 10, 2; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 2, 4; iv. 6, 9; vi. 16, 43; vii. 16, 2; viii. 43, 16; x. 7, 4; x. 70, 2 f.), which he yokes in order to summon the gods (i. 14, 12; iii. 6, 6, 9; viii. 64, 1).

In some parts of the Rīg Veda Agni is regarded as having a triple existence, as the sun in heaven, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as ordinary fire on the earth or in the waters.<sup>2</sup> Thus he is called *trisadhasthaḥ*, dwelling in the three spheres (v. 4, 8, comp. x. 56, 1), *arkas tridhātuh*, a triple light (iii. 26, 7), and *tripastyah*, having three abodes (viii. 39, 8). He is said to occupy the three luminaries and all the worlds (i. 149, 4), to have three births, one in the sea<sup>3</sup> (*samudre*), one in the heaven (*divi*), and one in the waters or atmosphere (*apsu*, i. 95, 3). In another place (viii. 43, 28) he is only spoken of as born in the sky and in the waters or atmosphere (*divijā asi apsuḥ*), and similarly in ii. 9, 3 (compare viii. 39, 8), he is said to have an upper and a lower sphere. In x. 91, 6, it is said that the waters, the mothers, generated Agni (compare iii. 1, 3; iii. 9, 4). In x. 88, 10, we are told that "the gods through their power created with a hymn Agni who fills the worlds; they formed

<sup>1</sup> *Chandra-ratha* and *jyotiratha*. The latter epithet is also applied to all the gods (x. 63, 4).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Nirukta vii. 5, and xii. 19, with the comment of Durga on the latter passage, quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 55-57.

<sup>3</sup> In R.V. viii. 91, 4 (= Sāma Veda i. 18), Agni is called *samudra-vāsa*, "clothed with, or enveloped by, the ocean."

him to have a threefold<sup>1</sup> existence" (comp. x. 45, 1, 2). In one of the preceding verses (x. 88, 6) it is said that "Agni is at night the head of the earth; and from him springs the sun rising in the morning," i.e. as Yāska says, the sun is identical with him. In a following verse (x. 88, 11) the gods are declared to have placed Agni in the sky as *Sūrya Āditeya*, the Sun, the offspring of Aditi. In x. 80, 4, Agni is said to have many abodes.

The highest divine functions are ascribed to Agni. He is called the divine king, and declared to be strong as Indra (vii. 6, 1). Although (as we have seen above) he is described in some passages as the offspring of heaven and earth, he is said in other places to have stretched them out (iii. 6, 5); to have spread out the two worlds like two skins (vi. 8, 3); to have produced them (i. 96, 4; vii. 5, 6); to have propped up the sky (i. 67, 3; iii. 5, 10; vi. 8, 3); to have measured out the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven (vi. 7, 7; vi. 8, 2); to have begotten Mitra (x. 8, 4), and caused the sun, the imperishable orb, to ascend the sky (x. 156, 4); to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves (x. 88, 4).<sup>2</sup> He is the head (*mūrdhā*) and summit of the sky, the centre (*nābhi*) of the earth (i. 59, 2; comp. verse 1; vi. 7, 1; viii. 44, 16; x. 88, 5). His greatness exceeds that of heaven and all the worlds (i. 59, 5; iii. 3, 10; iii. 2, 7; iii. 6, 2).<sup>3</sup> He has achieved famous exploits of old (vii. 6, 2). Men tremble at his mighty deeds, and his ordinances cannot be resisted (ii. 8, 3; ii. 9, 1; vi. 7, 5; viii. 44, 25; viii. 92, 3). Earth and heaven obey his command (vii. 5, 4). He gained wealth for the gods in battle (i. 59, 5); and delivered them<sup>4</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> This triple existence is according to Sākapāṇi, as quoted by Yāska (Nir. vii. 28), that which Agni has on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven. The gods are said in the same hymn (x. 88, 7) to have thrown into Agni an oblation accompanied by a hymn, and in v. 9, this oblation is said to have consisted of all creatures or all worlds (*bhuvānāni viśvā*).

<sup>2</sup> This half verse is quoted in Nirukta, v. 3. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains the words by saying that Agni subjects all things to himself at the time of the mundane dissolution.

<sup>3</sup> Epithets of this description may have been originally applied to some other god to whom they were more suitable than to Agni, and subsequently transferred to him by his worshippers in emulation of the praises lavished on other deities.

<sup>4</sup> Unless we are to take *devān* here in the sense of priests.

calamity (vii. 13, 2). He is the conqueror of thousands (i. 188, 1). All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness (vi. 9, 7). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the 3339 gods (iii. 9, 9; iii. 14, 4; x. 69, 9). It is through him that Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman (i. 141, 9) triumph. He sees all worlds (x. 187, 4). He knows the recesses of heaven (iv. 8, 2, 4), the races of gods and men (i. 70, 2, 6; iii. 4, 11; vi. 15, 13), the secrets of mortals (viii. 39, 6), and all things (i. 188, 1). He is *asura*, the divine (iv. 2, 5; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; v. 27, 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1; x. 11, 6).

The votaries of Agni prosper (vi. 2, 4, 5; vi. 5, 5; vi. 10, 3; vi. 13, 4; vi. 15, 11; vii. 11, 2; viii. 19, 5, 6; viii. 73, 9). He is the friend of the man who entertains him as a guest (iv. 4, 10), and bestows protection and wealth upon the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel, or wearies his head to serve him. He watches with a thousand eyes over the man who brings him food and oblations (x. 79, 5). He bestows children (v. 25, 5), wealth (i. 1, 3; i. 31, 10, 12; i. 36, 4), and victory (i. 27, 7, 8). No mortal enemy can by any craft lord it over the man who sacrifices to him (viii. 23, 15). He also confers, and is the guardian and lord of, immortality (i. 31, 7; vi. 7, 4; vi. 7, 7; vii. 4, 6). He was made by the gods the centre of immortality (*amṛtasya nābhīḥ*, iii. 17, 4). In a funeral hymn (x. 16, 4) Agni is supplicated to carry the unborn part of the deceased to the world of the righteous. He carries men across calamities or preserves them from them (iii. 20, 4; v. 4, 9; vii. 12, 2). All treasures are congregated in him (x. 6, 6). All blessings proceed from him, as branches from a tree (vi. 13, 1). He is master of all the treasures in the earth, the atmosphere and the sky (vii. 6, 7; x. 91, 3). He is in consequence continually supplicated for various boons (iv. 2, 4 ff.; i. 18, 9; i. 36, 14-16; i. 58, 8, 9; ii. 7, 2, 3; vi. 1, 12 f.), to be an iron wall with a hundred ramparts to protect his worshippers (vi. 48, 8; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14); to consume their enemies (iv. 4, 3 ff.); and to forgive sin (iv. 12, 4; vii. 93, 7), to avert Varuṇa's wrath (iv. 1, 4, 5), and to release from (his?) bonds (v. 2, 7).

In one place (viii. 44, 23), the worshipper naively says to Agni: "If I were thou, and thou wert I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled;" and again, viii. 19, 25 f.: "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I an immortal, . . . I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. *My* worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable." (Compare the similar appeal to Indra's generosity in vii. 32, 18, 19.)

In another place (x. 79, 6) the worshipper asks "why hast thou among (all) the gods forsaken and injured us? I ask thee in my ignorance."

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods and different goddesses, Indra, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Anṣa, Tvashṭṛ, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitr, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotrā, Bhāratī, Ilā, Sarasvatī (ii. 1, 3-7, and 11; iii. 5, 4; v. 3, 1; vii. 12, 3; x. 8, 5).<sup>1</sup> All gods are comprehended in him (v. 3, 1); he surrounds them as the circumference of a wheel does the spokes (i. 141, 9; v. 13, 6). Varuṇa is in one place (iv. 1, 2) spoken of as his brother.

Agni is associated with Indra in different hymns, as i. 108 and 109; iii. 12, 1 ff.; vi. 59 and 60; vii. 93 and 94; viii. 38 and 40. The two gods are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and having their mothers here and there<sup>2</sup> (vi. 59, 2), to be both thunderers, slayers of Vṛttra, and shakers of cities (iii. 12, 4, 6; vi. 59, 3; vi. 60, 3; vii. 93, 1, 4; viii. 38, 2). They are also invited together to come and drink soma (vii. 93, 6; viii. 38, 4, 7-9), and are together invoked for help (vii. 94, 7). Agni is elsewhere said to exercise alone the function usually assigned to Indra, and to slay Vṛttra and destroy cities (i. 59, 6; i. 78, 4; iii. 20, 4; vi. 16, 14, 39, 48; vii. 5, 3; vii. 6, 2). He is also described as driving away the Dasyus from the house, thus

<sup>1</sup> Another verse where Agni is identified with other gods is of a more pantheistic character, viz., i. 164, 46, "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; then there is that celestial well-winged bird. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariṣvan."

<sup>2</sup> The sense of the word *īkhamātārā* is not clear. Sāyaṇa says it means that their mother Aditi is here and there, *i.e.* everywhere. Roth, *s.v.*, understands it to mean that the mother of the one is here, of the other there, *i.e.* in different places.

creating a large light for the Ārya (vii. 5, 6),<sup>1</sup> as the promoter of the Ārya (viii. 92, 1), and as the vanquisher of the irreligious Paṇis (vii. 6, 3),—though it is Indra who is most frequently represented in the hymns as the patron and helper of the sacred race, and the destroyer of their enemies. On the other hand, in viii. 38, 1, where the two gods are called two priests (*ṛtvijā*), Indra is made to share in the character peculiar to Agni. In hymn i. 93, Agni and Soma are celebrated in company.

### XI. TVASHTR.

Tvashtr, as represented in the Rig Veda, is the Indian Vulcan, the artist *par excellence* (compare Nirukta, viii. 13), the divine artizan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all magical devices (x. 53, 9). He forges the thunderbolts of Indra<sup>2</sup> (i. 32, 2; i. 52, 7; i. 61, 6; i. 85, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3), which are described as formed of gold (i. 85, 9), or of iron (x. 48, 3), with a thousand points and a hundred edges (i. 85, 9; vi. 17, 10). He is styled *supāni*, *sugabhastī*, the skilful-handed (iii. 54, 12; vi. 49, 9), *svapas*, *sukṛt*, the skilful worker (i. 85, 9), *viṣvarūpa*,<sup>3</sup> the creator of all forms (i. 13, 10; iii. 55, 19; x. 10, 5), and *savitṛ*, the vivifier (iii. 55, 19;<sup>4</sup> x. 10, 5). He is the bestower of generative power and of offspring (i. 142, 10; iii. 4, 9; vii. 2, 9; vii. 34, 20; compare Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxi. 20; xxii. 20; xxvii).<sup>5</sup> He forms husband and wife for each other even from the womb (x. 10, 5; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He transforms the seminal germ in the womb, and is the shaper of all forms human and animal (R.V. i. 188, 9; viii. 91, 8; x. 184, 1; A.V. ii. 26, 1; v. 26, 8; ix. 4, 6; Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxxi. 17; Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 4, 2, 1; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 3, 4; iii. 7, 3, 11; xiii. 1, 8, 7). He has produced and nourishes

<sup>1</sup> In i. 59, 2, the gods are said to have produced him as a light to the Ārya.

<sup>2</sup> In i. 121, 3, Indra (?) is said to fashion his own thunderbolts.

<sup>3</sup> In iii. 38, 4, Indra also is called *viṣvarūpa*.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Nirukta, x. 34. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> In A. V. vi. 81, 3, Tvashtr is said to have bound the amulet which Aditi wore when she was desirous of offspring, on the arm of a female in order that she might bear a son.



a great variety of creatures; all worlds are his, and are known to him, for he has created them, and has given to the heaven and the earth their forms (iii. 55, 19; iv. 42, 3; x. 110, 9; Vāj. Sanh. xxix. 9). He bestows long life (x. 18, 6; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He puts speed into the feet of a horse (V.S. ix. 9). He created Brhaspati (ii. 23, 17), and is said, along with other deities, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, etc., to have produced Agni (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7; x. 46, 9). (And yet, in common with other gods, he is said, in x. 125, 2, to be sustained by the goddess Vāch). He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshaniḥ*, ii. 31, 4), a first-born protector and leader (i. 13, 10; ix. 5, 9). He is called *vibhu*, the pervading, and knows the paths of the gods (x. 70, 9). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper, and protect his sacrifice. He is *dravinodas*, the giver of wealth (x. 70, 9; x. 92, 11); and is asked, like the other gods, to bestow riches and protection (vii. 34, 22).

Tvashtṛ is in several passages connected with the Rbhus, who, like him, are celebrated as skilful workmen (see Roth's Lexicon, s.v.), who fashioned Indra's chariot and horses, etc. etc. (i. 111, 1; i. 161, 3), and are spoken of by Sāyana (on i. 20, 6) as Tvashtṛ's pupils. These Rbhus are said to have made into four a single new sacrificial cup which Tvashtṛ had formed (i. 20, 6; i. 110, 3). This exhibition of skill is said to have been performed by command of the gods, and in consequence of a promise that its accomplishment should be rewarded by their exaltation to divine honours (i. 161, 1-5). Tvashtṛ is in this passage represented as resenting this alteration of his own work as a slight to himself, and as having in consequence sought to slay his rivals. In another place (iv. 33, 5, 6), on the contrary, he is said to have applauded their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill.

In ii. 1, 5, Agni is identified with Tvashtṛ, as he is also, however, with many other gods in other verses of the same hymn. In i. 95, 5, Agni appears to be designated by the word Tvashtṛ. In vi. 47, 19, where Tvashtṛ is spoken of as yoking his horses and shining resplendently, the commentator supposes that Indra is referred to.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the obscure passage, i. 84, 15, where the name of Tvashtṛ is mentioned

In x. 17, 1 f. Tvashṭṛ is said to have given his daughter Saranyu in marriage to Vivasvat: "Tvashṭṛ makes a wedding for his daughter. (Hearing) this the whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, the wedded wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of like appearance (*savarṇām*), they gave her to Vivasvat. Saranyu bore the two Aṣvins, and when she had done so, she deserted the two twins." These two verses are quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 10 f., where the following illustrative story is told: "Saranyu, the daughter of Tvashṭṛ, bore twins to Vivasvat the sun. She then substituted for herself another female of similar appearance (*savarṇām*), and fled in the form of a mare. Vivasvat in like manner assumed the shape of a horse, and followed her. From their intercourse sprang the two Aṣvins, while Manu was the offspring of *Savarṇā* (or the female of like appearance)." (See Roth's interpretation of R.V. x. 17, 1 ff. and remarks thereon, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 424 f.; and the same writer's translation, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 161, of a passage of the Bṛhaddevatā, given by Sāyaṇa on R.V. vii. 72, 2, relating the same story about Vivasvat and Saranyu which is given in the Nirukta).

In R.V. viii. 26, 21 f. Vāyu also is spoken of as Tvashṭṛ's son-in-law. Whether Vāyu's wife was different from Saranyu, or whether there is a discrepancy between this story and the one just referred to about Vivasvat, does not appear.

Tvashṭṛ is represented as having for his most frequent attendants the wives of the gods (i. 22, 9; ii. 31, 4; ii. 36, 3; vi. 50, 13; vii. 35, 6; x. 64, 10; x. 66, 3).

In x. 49, 10, he is spoken of as if he were a deity of some importance, though inferior to Indra, since the latter is said to perform what even the gods and Tvashṭṛ could not do.

Indra is occasionally represented as in a state of hostility

Wilson's translation and note, Roth's explanation in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 49, and Benfey's remarks in his "Orient und Occident," ii. 245 f., may be consulted.

with Tvashṭr and his son.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in iii. 48, 4, it is said that Indra overcame him, and carried off his soma-juice, which he drank from the cups; and in iv. 18, 3, that the same god drank off the soma in his house. In explanation of these allusions, the commentator (who in his note on iii. 48, 4, calls Tvashṭr an Asura) refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitâ, ii. 4, 12, 1, where it is related that Tvashṭr, whose son had been slain by Indra, began to perform a soma-sacrifice in the absence of the latter, and refused, on the ground of his homicide, to allow him to assist at the ceremony; when Indra interrupted the celebration, and drank off the soma by force (compare Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 6 ff; v. 5, 4, 7 ff; xii. 7, 1, 1; xii. 8, 3, 1 ff).

The son of Tvashṭr is mentioned in several passages of the Rig Veda. Thus in x. 8, 8, it is said: "This Trita Âptya, knowing his paternal weapons, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed (monster), and slaying him, he carried off the cows even of the son of Tvashṭr. 9. Indra, the lord of the good, pierced this arrogant being, who boasted of his great force; seizing the cows, he struck off the three heads even of Viṣvarûpa the son of Tvashṭr (or of the omniform son of Tvashṭr)." (Compare ii. 11, 19; x. 76, 3). A loud-shouting monster with three heads and six eyes, perhaps identical with the son of Tvashṭr, is also mentioned in x. 99, 6, as having been overcome by Indra or Trita.

Viṣvarûpa is frequently mentioned in the later works.

According to the Taittirīya Sanhitâ, ii. 5, 1, 1 ff, he was the priest (*purohita*) of the gods, while he was sister's son (no further genealogy is given) of the Asuras. He had three heads, called respectively the soma-drinker, the wine-drinker, and the food-eater. He declared in public that the sacrifices should be shared by the gods only, while he privately recommended that they should be offered to the Asuras. For, as the author of the Brâhmaṇa remarks, it is customary for people in public to promise every one a share, whereas it is

<sup>1</sup> In i. 80, 4, it is said that even Tvashṭr trembles at Indra's wrath when he thunders. But this trait is merely introduced to indicate the terrific grandeur of Indra's manifestations. In Vâj. Sanh. xx. 44, Tvashṭr is said to have imparted vigour to Indra.

only those to whom the promise is privately made who obtain its fulfilment. Indra was alarmed lest his dominion should by this procedure of Viṣvarûpa be overturned, and he accordingly smote off his heads with a thunderbolt. The three heads were turned into birds, the one called Soma-drinker, became a Kapinjala (or Francoline partridge), the Wine-drinker a Kalavinka (or sparrow), and the Food-eater a Tittiri (or partridge), etc.

Compare the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.; v. 5, 4, 2 ff.; and the Mahâbhârata, Udyoga Parva, 228 ff.

In the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, section 77, Tvasṣṭṛ is identified with Viṣvakarman and Prajâpati. Compare verses 1, 10, 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, and 41. Weber (*Omina und Portenta*, p. 391 f.) refers to a passage of the Adbhutâdhyâya of the Kauṣika Sûtras, where Tvasṣṭṛ is identified with Savitr and Prajâpati.

## XII. SOMA.

Soma is the god who represents and animates the juice of the soma plant, an intoxicating draught which plays an important part in the sacrifices of the Vedic age. He is, or rather was, the Indian Bacchus. Not only are the whole of the hymns in the ninth book of the Rig Veda, one hundred and fourteen in number, besides a few in other places, dedicated to his honour, but constant references to the juice of the soma occur in a large proportion of the other hymns. It is clear therefore, as remarked by Professor Whitney (*Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Society*, iii. 292), that his worship must at one time have attained a remarkable popularity. This circumstance is thus explained by the writer to whom I have referred: "The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it

entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta;<sup>1</sup> it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory."

Dr. Haug, in his work on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Introd. p. 60), thus writes of the soma sacrifice: "Being thus," (*i.e.* through the oblation of an animal) "received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the soma-juice makes him a new man; though a new celestial body had been prepared for him at the Prāvargya ceremony, the enjoyment of the soma beverage transforms him again; for the nectar of the gods flows for the first time in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him."

With the decline of the Vedic worship, however, and the introduction of new deities and new ceremonies, the popularity of Soma gradually decreased, and has long since passed away; and his name is now familiar to those few Brahmins only who still maintain in a few places the early Vedic observances.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant from which he takes his name (the *asclepias acida* or *sarcostemma viminale*) was being pressed out and purified.<sup>2</sup> They describe enthusiastically the flowing forth and filtration of the divine juice, and the effects produced on the worshippers, and supposed to be produced on the gods, by partaking of the beverage. Thus the first verse of the first hymn of the ninth book runs thus: "O soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the juice is described

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Windischmann's Essay on the Soma-worship of the Arians, or the translated extracts from it in Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 469 ff.; and the extract there given, p. 474, from Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46, in which the *soma*, or as it is in Zend, *haoma*, appears to be referred to under the appellation *θυμα*. See also on the fact of the soma rite of the Indians being originally identical with the haoma ceremony of the Zoroastrians, Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Introd., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See the process as described by Windischmann, after Dr. Stevenson, in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 470.



as sweet, honied, sharp, well-flavoured. When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and calls forth ardent conceptions (ibid. v. 3). In a verse (viii. 48, 3) already quoted above, in the account of Indra, the worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any mortal effect, O thou immortal god?" No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk this libation and become exhilarated by it (vi. 47, 1, 2).

The plant is said to have been brought to the earth by a falcon (iii. 43, 7; iv. 26, 4, 5, 7; iv. 27, 3, 4) from a mountain (i. 93, 6) where it had been planted by Varuṇa (v. 85, 2), or from the uppermost sky (iv. 26, 6). In another place (ix. 113, 3) it is declared to have been brought by the daughter of the Sun from the place where it had been nourished by Parjanya, the rain-god; when the Gandharvas took it, and infused into it sap.

In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma plant, the sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms of which he is said to manifest (ix. 83, 4; ix. 85, 12).<sup>1</sup> In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 2, 4, 1, ff.) it is related that the soma existed formerly in the sky. The gods desired to get it, that they might employ it in sacrifice. The Gâyatrî flew to bring it for them. While she was carrying it off, the Gandharva Vibhâvasu robbed her of it. The gods became aware of this, and knowing the partiality of the Gandharvas for females (comp. iii. 9, 3, 20), they sent Vâch, the goddess of speech, to induce them to give it up, which she succeeded in doing. And in xi. 7, 2, 8, it is said: "The soma existed in the sky. The Gâyatrî became a bird, and brought it." See also the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 6, 2, 2-18, towards the close of which passage, as well as in iii. 9, 3, 18, the Gandharvas are spoken of as the guardians of the soma.

The juice of this plant is said to be an immortal<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Roth's Lexicon under the word *Gandharva*.

<sup>2</sup> This means, according to Sâyana, that it has no deadly effects, like other intoxicating drinks.

draught, to be medicine for a sick man (viii. 61, 17). All the gods drink of it (ix. 109, 15). The god also, who is its personification, is said to clothe whatever is naked, and to heal whatever is sick; through him the blind sees, and the lame walks abroad (viii. 68, 2; x. 25, 11). He is the guardian of men's bodies, and occupies their every member (viii. 48, 9).

A great variety of divine attributes and operations are ascribed to Soma. As Prof. Whitney observes, he is "addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow." He is said to be *asura*, divine (ix. 73, 1; ix. 74, 7), and the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8). He is immortal (i. 43, 9), and confers immortality on gods and men (i. 91, 1, 6, 18; viii. 48, 3; ix. 106, 8; ix. 108, 3; ix. 109, 2, 3). In a passage (ix. 113, 7 ff.) where the joys of paradise are more distinctly anticipated and more fervently implored than in most other parts of the Rig Veda, Soma is addressed as the god from whom the gift of future felicity is expected. Thus it is there said: "7. Place me, O purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory. O Indu (soma), flow for Indra. 8. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivasvata (Yama, the son of Vivasvat,) lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow."

Soma exhilarates Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Maruts, the other gods, Vāyu, Heaven and Earth (ix. 90, 5; ix. 97, 42). By him the Âdityas are strong, and the earth vast (x. 85, 2). He is the friend, helper, and soul of Indra (iv. 28, 1 ff.; ix. 85, 3; x. 25, 9), whose vigour he stimulates (ix. 76, 2), and whom he succours in his conflicts with Vṛtra (ix. 61, 22). He rides in the same chariot with Indra (ix. 87, 9; ix. 103, 5). He has, however, horses of his own, and a team like Vāyu (ix. 88, 3). He ascends his filter in place of a car, and is armed with a thousand-pointed shaft (ix. 83, 5; ix. 86, 40). His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand (ix. 76, 2), are sharp and terrible (ix. 61, 30), and his bow swift-darting (ix. 90, 3). He is the slayer of Vṛtra

(i. 91, 5; ix. 24, 6; ix. 25, 3; ix. 28, 3; x. 25, 9), and, like Indra, the destroyer of foes, and overthrower of cities (ix. 88, 4). In ix. 5, 9, he appears to receive the epithet of *prajāpati*, or lord of creatures. He is the creator and father of the gods (ix. 42, 4; ix. 86, 10; ix. 87, 2; ix. 109, 4), the generator of prayers, of the sky, of the earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu (ix. 96, 5). He destroys the darkness (ix. 66, 24; i. 91, 22), lights up the gloomy nights (vi. 39, 3), and has created the sun, the great luminary common to all mankind (ix. 61, 16; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3). He stretched out the atmosphere (i. 91, 22), the heavens and the earth (viii. 48, 13). He is the upholder of the sky and the sustainer of the earth (vi. 47, 5; ix. 87, 2; ix. 89, 6; ix. 109, 6).<sup>1</sup> He is the king of gods and men (ix. 97, 24), elevated over all worlds like the divine sun (ix. 54, 3). All creatures are in his hand (ix. 89, 6). His laws are like those of king Varuṇa (i. 91, 3; ix. 88, 3); and he is prayed to forgive their infraction, and to be gracious as a father to a son (viii. 48, 9; x. 25, 3). He is thousand-eyed<sup>2</sup> (ix. 60, 1, 2), and beholds all worlds, and destroys the irreligious (ix. 73, 8; x. 25, 6). He is the most vigorous of the fierce, the most heroic of heroes; as a warrior he is always victorious (ix. 66, 16, 17). He acquires by conquest cows, chariots, gold, heaven, water, a thousand things (ix. 78, 4), and all things (viii. 68, 1). He is *viśvavedas*, the possessor of all wealth (i. 91, 2). He is wise (viii. 68, 1), strong, energetic, the author of fertility (i. 91, 2), an unconquerable protector from enemies (i. 91, 21; x. 25, 7), and an upholder of life (x. 25, 4, 6). The friend of a god like him cannot perish (i. 91, 8).

Soma is associated with Agni as an object of adoration in i. 93, 1 ff. In verse 5 of that hymn those two gods are said to have placed the luminaries in the sky. In the same way Soma and Pūshan are conjoined in ii. 40, 1 ff, where various attributes and functions of a magnificent character are ascribed to them. Thus in verse 1 they are said to be the generators

<sup>1</sup> In ix. 98, 9, he is said to have produced the two worlds, the offspring of Manu, in the sacrifices (*yajñeshu mānavi Indur janishṭa rodasi*).

<sup>2</sup> In ix. 60, 2, and ix. 98, 1, Soma is also called *sahasra-bharnas*, having a thousand means of affording support.

of wealth, and of heaven and earth, to have been born the guardians of the whole universe, and to have been made by the gods the centre of immortality. The one has made his abode in the sky, and the other on the earth, and in the atmosphere (v. 4). The one has produced all the worlds, and the other moves onward beholding all things (v. 5). In vi. 72, and vii. 104, Soma and Indra are celebrated in company. In the first of these hymns they are said to dispel darkness, to destroy revilers, to bring the sun and the light, to prop up the sky with supports, and to have spread out mother earth. In vii. 104, their vengeance is invoked against Rākshases, Yātudhānas, and other enemies.

Hymn vi. 74, is dedicated to the honour of Soma and Rudra conjointly. The two gods, who are said to be armed with sharp weapons, are there supplicated for blessings to man and beast, for healing remedies, and for deliverance from evil and sin.

In the post-vedic age the name Soma came to be commonly applied to the moon and its regent. Even in the Rig Veda, some traces of this application seem to be discoverable. Thus in x. 85, 3 and 5, there appears to be an allusion to the double sense of the word: "When they crush the plant, he who drinks regards it as *soma*. Of him whom the priests regard as Soma (the moon?) no one drinks. 5. When they drink thee, O god, thou increasest again. Vāyu is the guardian of Soma: the month is a part (?) of the year." In the Atharva Veda the following half-verse occurs, xi. 6, 7: "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the moon (*chandramāh*)" And in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 5; xi. 1, 3, 2; xi. 1, 4, 4, we have the words: "This king Soma, who is the moon, is the food of the gods." Similarly in xi., "the moon is soma, the food of the gods." (See also i. 6, 3, 4; and xii. 1, 1, 2). In v. 3, 3, 12, Soma is said to be the king of the Brāhmans. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa (book i. chap. 22, p. 153 of Wilson's translation, 4to.) the double character of Soma is indicated in these words: "Soma was appointed monarch of the stars and planets, of Brāhmans and of plants, of sacrifices and of penance."

ART. VI.—*A Tabular List of Original Works and Translations, published by the late Dutch Government of Ceylon at their Printing Press at Colombo. Compiled by Mr. MAT. P. J. ONDAATJE, of Colombo.*

	Name and Size of Book.	Name of Author or Translator.	Language in which written or rendered.	Date of Publication.
1	A Collection of Prayers, 8vo.	Unknown.	Singhalese.	1737
2	Confession of Faith, 8vo.	Do.	Do.	1738
3	Catechism and Prayers, 8vo.	Do.	Tamul.	1739
4	The Four Gospels, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1739
5	St. Matthew's Gospel, 4to.	Translated by the Rev. A. Cramer, V.D.M., Jaffna.	Tamul.	1740
6	The Heidelberg Catechism, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1741
7	A Book containing five smaller Catechisms, the Creed, the Decalogue, and Prayers, 8vo.	Unknown.	Do.	—
8	The Gospels of St. Mark, Luke, and John, 4to.	Translated by a Committee of native scholars, under the superintendence of the Rev. and learned J. P. Witzeleus, V.D.M., Colombo, and Rector of the Government Seminary.	Tamul.	1742
9	Confession of the Faith (2d edit.) 8vo.	Translated by the aforesaid Rev. J. P. Witzeleus.	Singhalese.	1742
10	A Short Plan of the Doctrine of Faith unto Godliness, 8vo.	Translated by do.	Do.	1744



	Name and Size of Book.	Name of Author or Translator.	Language in which written or rendered.	Date of Publication.
11	The Liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church, 8vo.	Unknown.	Singhalese.	1744
12	Four Sermons, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn, V.D.M., Colombo.	Do.	1746
13	Sixteen Sermons, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. P. De Vriest, V.D.M., Colombo.	Tamul.	1747
14	A new edition of Sermons, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1753
15	A History of the Old Testament.	Unknown.	Tamul.	1753
16	The Triumph of the Truth, or a refutation of the errors of Popery, and an exposition of the doctrines of the Reformed Church, with dedication and preface in Latin, Dutch, and Tamul, 8vo.	Composed by the Rev. and learned Philip De Melho, V.D.M., Colombo.*	Do.	1753
17	Four Sermons on Love and Faith, 8vo.	Unknown.	Singhalese.	1753
18	The Heidelberg Catechism, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. S. A. Bronsveld, V.D.M., Colombo.	Tamul.	1754
19	A Short Summary of the Christian Religion, 8vo.	By do.	Do.	1754
20	A Metrical Version of the Psalms of David, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. and learned Philip De Melho, V.D.M., Jaffna.	Do.	1755
21	Borst's Compendium of the Christian Religion, 8vo.	Unknown.	Do.	1755
22	Bert's Short Questions on Religion.	Do.	Do.	—
23	The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the 23rd and 51st Psalms, and the Song of Simeon, 8vo.	Translated in the year 1723, and edited by the Rev. M. Wernelskircher, V.D.M. of the Singhalese congregations at Cotta, Negombo, and Caltura.	Singhalese.	1755
24	Three Sermons, by the Rev. Dr. Wagerdus, Clergyman of Batavia, 8vo.	Edited by the Rev. M. Wernelskircher, V.D.M., Colombo.	Dutch.	1756
25	A Sermon, 8vo.	By the Rev. S. A. Bronsveld, V.D.M., Colombo.	Portuguese.	1756

\* For a brief Life of this eminent Divine, Oriental Scholar, and Poet, celebrated as the first Native of Ceylon who was admitted into the Christian Ministry, and the most learned Divine that has appeared in India or that Island, *vide* the "Tamul Plutarch," by Simon Casie Chitty, Esq., author of the "Ceylon Gazetteer," of which a copy was presented by the talented author, since deceased, to the Royal Asiatic Society. Page 69.

	Name and Size of Book.	Name of Author or Translator.	Language in which written or rendered.	Date of Publication.
26	Rudimenta Linguae Latinae, 8vo.	Composed by the Rev. Dr. Meyer, V.D.M., Colombo, and Rector of the Government Seminary.	Dutch.	1756
27	The Version of the whole of the New Testament, with an historical preface, 4to.	Translated from the original Greek by the Rev. and learned Philip De Melho, V.D.M.	Tamul.	1759
28	A Dictionary of the Singhalese Language.	Unknown.	Singhalese.	1759
29	The Liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. and learned Philip De Melho, V.D.M., Jaffna.	Tamul.	1760
30	An Historical and Doctrinal Catechism, 8vo.	Composed by do.	Portuguese.	1760
31	The Heidelberg Catechism, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn (2nd edition).	Singhalese.	1761
32	Catechism for Young Children, 12mo.	By the Rev. S. A. Bronsveld, V.D.M., Colombo, and Rector of the Government Seminary.	Tamul.	1766
33	Revised Metrical Version of the Psalms of David, and other Sacred Hymns, 8vo.	Edited by do.	Singhalese.	1768
34	Rudimenta Linguae Latinae, 8vo.	By Otto Amytenius, Rector of the Latin School at Overtreden, edited by Bronsveld.	Latin.	1768
35	Joachimi Langii Colloquiorum Centura, 8vo.	Edited by the Rev. W. J. Ondaatje, V.D.M., Colombo, and Rector of the Government Seminary.	Do.	1770
36	The Acts of the Apostles, 4to.	Translated by two Singhalese Interpreters to Government.	Singhalese.	1771
37	The Book of Psalms, in Dutch Metre, 12mo.	Edited by the Rev. W. J. Ondaatje, V.D.M., Colombo, and Rector of the Government Seminary.	Dutch.	1773
38	The Epistle to the Romans, 4to.	Translated from the original Greek by the Rev. H. Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1772
39	The Epistle to the Corinthians, and Galatians, 4to.	Translated from do. by do.	Do.	1773
40	The Epistle to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and to the Hebrews, 4to.	Translated from do. by do.	Do.	1776

	Name and Size of Book.	Name of Author or Translator.	Language in which written or rendered.	Date of Publication.
41	The remainder of the New Testament, 4to.	Translated from the original Greek by the Rev. H. Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1776
42	De Mohlin and Drillincourt's Meditations and Prayers for the Holy Communion, 4to.	Translated from the Dutch by Mr. John Franciscus, Proponent of Colombo.	Tamul.	1778
43	The Version of the whole of the New Testament, 4to.	Revised and corrected by the Rev. Messrs. Fybrands and Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1780
44	A Catechism, 8vo.	Translated by the Rev. W. Conyn, V.D.M., Colombo.	Do.	1780
45	Questions and Answers on the Doctrines of Christianity, in four parts, with Prayers, 4to.	Translated by the Rev. H. Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Do.	1780
46	The Book of Genesis, 4to.	Translated by do.	Do.	1783
47	A Grammar of the Singhalese Language.	Composed by the Rev. H. Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Do.	1783
48	An Abridged History of Christianity.	Unknown.	Tamul.	1787
49	A Catechism for Young Children, 12mo.	Translated by the Rev. S. A. Bronsveld, and revised by Proponent Mr. M. J. Ondaatje.	Do.	—
50	The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, 4to.	Translated from the original Hebrew by the Rev. H. Philipsz, V.D.M., Colombo.	Singhalese.	1789
51	A Summary of the Doctrine of Faith unto Godliness, 8vo.	Translated from the Dutch by the Rev. Matthew Jurgen Ondaatje, Proponent of Colombo, afterwards Clergyman of Batavia.	Tamul.	1789
52	The Pentateuch, 4to.	Translated from the Hebrew by the Rev. and learned Philip De Melho, V.D.M., Jaffna.	Do.	1790

ART. VII.—*Assyrian and Hebrew Chronology compared, with the view of showing the extent to which the Hebrew chronology of Ussher must be modified, in conformity with the Assyrian Canon.* By I. W. BOSANQUET, Esq.

[Read March 7, 1864.]

It is now about two years since Sir H. Rawlinson published his discovery of the Assyrian Canon, that is to say, of a list of annual functionaries in the kingdom of Assyria, extending over a period of about two hundred and seventy years of the duration of that great empire. This is the most valuable contribution towards the recovery of ancient Asiatic chronology which has been made since the time when Selden deciphered and published the contents of the Parian Chronicle, in the reign of Charles the First; and there is every reason to believe that by means of this document, in conjunction with the well-established dates of the early portion of the Babylonian Canon, we shall be enabled, not only to fix with certainty the dates of the reigns of thirteen kings of Assyria, reaching as early as the year B.C. 907; but also, with much probability, to recover the exact date of the rise of the first Chaldean dynasty in Assyria; or, in other words, the commencement of the era of Ninus and Semiramis. Sufficient time has now elapsed for a full investigation of the contents and bearing of this valuable document, and three eminent Assyrian scholars, viz., Sir H. Rawlinson in England, Dr. Hincks in Ireland, and Monsieur Oppert in Paris, after careful and independent examination, have published their comments upon it. They are as yet undecided as to what was the exact nature of the functions of these annual officers, whether military, civil, or priestly.<sup>1</sup> For the

<sup>1</sup> These officers were probably military; considering the known character of some of them, and that the whole army at Nineveh was annually changed, and new officers appointed. See Diodorus, Rhodom. ii. p. 108.

purpose of reference, however, we may speak of them as archons. It is certain, that like the eponymous archons of Athens, and the consuls of Rome, they had the honour of giving name to the year in all public documents.

It is satisfactory to find, that with regard to one most interesting portion of this Assyrian record, viz., that which is found to range with the first sixty-seven years of the Canon of Ptolemy, or the era of Nabonassar,—that is, from the year B.C. 747 to the year B.C. 680, comprehending the reigns of Tiglathpileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, which is the period now proposed to be discussed,—there is little difference between the three Assyrian authorities, and that within a year or two at most, they are agreed as to the year of office of each successive archon.

For the most recent views of Sir H. Rawlinson on the Canon we may refer to the *Athenæum* of the 22nd August, 1863. Dr. Hincks first published his comments in the *Athenæum* of July, 1862, and has repeated his observations with great distinctness, and without variation, in the *Athenæum* of the 24th October, 1863; and M. Oppert, in his treatise entitled, "*Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides*," bearing date 1862, has adopted nearly the same arrangement as Dr. Hincks, as regards the period under inquiry, though differing from him above that time to the extent of ten or twenty years.

The professed object both of Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert is to show, that the chronology of the Assyrian Canon, as settled by themselves and Sir H. Rawlinson, confirms, and is in strict unison with the commonly received reckoning of the Kings of Judah and Israel, as established on the authority of the great names of Archbishop Ussher, Scaliger, Petavius, Blair, Clinton, and other modern chronologists; while Sir H. Rawlinson, though unable to satisfy himself as to the true mode of adjustment of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology, is of opinion that some modification of the common reckoning is required. The writer of these observations maintains in opposition to the two first, while fully accepting their arrangement of the list of archons, that the Assyrian Canon



presents one continuous series of contradictions to the reckoning of Ussher, throughout the whole period of sixty-seven years under discussion, clearly demonstrating an error in that reckoning of at least twenty-three years in excess; and the object of this paper is to show, that when the events recorded in sacred history in connexion with the three kings Tiglathpileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, are ranged side by side with the same events recorded in the contemporary Assyrian inscriptions which relate the annals of those reigns, and when the dates of the Canon are attached to the events, the Hebrew chronology which is the result, is not the chronology of Ussher and his followers, but neither more nor less than the chronology of a Hebrew historian, who wrote in the third century before the Christian era,—that is to say, the chronology of Demetrius.

Dr. Hincks has the honour of being the first to point out the exact year of contact between the Assyrian and Babylonian Canons, by which the dates of the reigns of the several Assyrian kings and archons have been determined. In a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1852, ten years before the discovery of the Assyrian Canon, he directed attention to the inscription on a clay cylinder in the British Museum, commonly known as Bellino's cylinder, from which it would appear that the date of Sennacherib's accession to the throne of Nineveh must have been nearly concurrent with the year B.C. 702, that is to say, just twenty-two years before the accession of his son Esarhaddon, or Asaradinus, to the throne of Babylon, in B.C. 680, as set down in Ptolemy's Canon; and from this opinion he has never swerved. It has been already observed, that the mode of marking the date of public documents in Assyria was by affixing the name of the archon who presided in the year of publication. Now Bellino's cylinder is inscribed with the name Neboliha, the archon who stands fourth on the list after "Sennacherib the king;" and as the inscription contains a record of the events of the first four years of Sennacherib's reign, Dr. Hincks rightly placed his accession in the fourth year before Neboliha, whatever the date of that year might

be. Sir Henry Rawlinson also confirms this, and assures us that he has found a clay fragment dated in the seventh year of Sennacherib, bearing the name of the archon who stands seventh on the list after Sennacherib; and again, another fragment dated in the twenty-second year of Sennacherib, bearing the name of the archon Mann-zir-ilin, the twenty-second on the list. So that there can be no question as to the true position of the reign of Sennacherib amongst the list of archons, nor that the length of his reign extended over at least twenty-two years. From the Canon it appears that it lasted twenty-four years.

It now only remains to show how the date of the year of Sennacherib's accession has been determined. Let us follow Mr. Fox Talbot's translation of Bellino's cylinder, published in the *Journal of the Society*, vol. xviii. Part 1, where Sennacherib thus records his own acts: "At the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Merodac-Baladan, king of Karduniash." . . . . . "The man Belib (or Belib-ni<sup>1</sup>) a nobleman of the city of Suanna,<sup>2</sup> who had been educated like a gallant youth (or, like one of my own children, R.) in my palace, I set over them, and made him king of Leshnan and Akaddi," that is, of Babylonia. Dr. Hincks, with much acuteness, fixed upon these latter words as affording a clue to the chronology of this king's reign, and it is now agreed on all sides that the Belib, or Belib-ni of the inscription, set on the throne of Babylon by Sennacherib at the beginning of his reign, can be no other than the Belibus of the Babylonian Canon, who began to reign in the year B.C. 702. So that the beginning of Sennacherib's reign must also be placed in that very year.

This is the fundamental date of the whole arrangement of the Assyrian Canon, and it is of extreme importance that the point of time in Sennacherib's reign, when he set Belib-ni on the throne, should be accurately ascertained. Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert place the actual accession of Sennacherib in B.C. 703, and his first regnal year in B.C. 702; and Taylor's cylinder, written sixteen years later than Bellino's, counten-

<sup>1</sup> Belib-ni. Oppert and Rawlinson.

<sup>2</sup> Babylon. R.

ances this arrangement, by putting together the events of the beginning of the reign with those of the first year. So that, according to the later record, Belib-ni might have been placed on the throne in the course of the year after the king's accession. The accuracy, however, of the contemporary record, rather than the looseness of the later document, is to be preferred. We therefore adhere to the year B.C. 702, in preference to the year B.C. 703, as the beginning of Sennacherib's reign. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the accession of Sennacherib in B.C. 704. But the authority of neither cylinder countenances so early a date. It is remarkable, that while copy No. 2 of the Canon places the accession of Sennacherib in the archonship of Pakharra-bil, in the fourth year before Neboliha, copy No. 4 places the accession in the archonship of Nebo-daini-pal, in the third year before Neboliha. The one would appear, with Bellino's cylinder, to separate the year of accession from the first year; the other, with Taylor's cylinder, to blend the year of accession and first year together.

But if the date of one single king or archon in the list is thus securely ascertained, the dates of all the preceding and succeeding archons, during the whole 270 years, are of course ascertained with the same precision. Thus it appears that Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, came to the throne in the year B.C. 716, as certified by the third copy of the Canon, in which year he is there first styled "king." It is of great importance that the years of Sargon also should be accurately fixed, considering that in his second year he took the city of Samaria, carrying away 27,280 captives, and that Jewish history thus comes in contact with Assyrian in that year of his reign. Now the three Assyrian authorities, who are strongly biassed in favour of the common reckoning of Ussher, which places the final capture of Samaria in B.C. 721, are all disposed to place the accession of Sargon five years earlier than B.C. 716, and before his name appears in the Canon, notwithstanding the evidence of the third copy of the Canon to the contrary; and it is assumed by them that the twelve years' reign of Merodac-baladan, or Mardocempadus

of Ptolemy's Canon, which began in B.C. 721,<sup>1</sup> were commensurate with the twelve first years of Sargon. This idea is supposed to be supported by a passage in Sargon's annals,<sup>2</sup> where in that king's twelfth year he captures Merodac-baladan the son of Yakin, and destroys his capital in Chaldea, speaking of him as having disturbed Babylonia during a period of twelve years. But according to M. Oppert's translation,<sup>3</sup> Merodac-baladan is styled in this passage king of Chaldea, not king of Babylon, and his army appears to have advanced from Chaldea. There is no reason, therefore, for supposing the twelve years here spoken of to be any other than the twelve first years of Sargon's own reign. Should it even be admitted that the twelve years' reign of Merodac-baladan, as king of Babylon, are here referred to, which is contrary to the tenour of the passage, still the words would not necessarily imply more than a reference to his former occupation of Babylon as an intruder for that term. But it is quite unnecessary to dwell upon questionable evidence of this nature, whereby to fix the years of the reign of Sargon, resting upon nice inflexions and construction of the Assyrian language, because there can be no question as to the archon under whose presidency the reign of Sargon commenced. M. Oppert informs us that there is in the Louvre<sup>4</sup> a document dated in the twelfth year of Sargon, which is inscribed with the name Manu-ki-Asshur-liha, who was archon in B.C. 706, according to our table. So that if Sargon's twelfth year was B.C. 706, we may without fear of error place the "beginning" of his reign in the year B.C. 717, during the archonship of Asshur-tirrat-danin, and the end of his first year in B.C. 716. In fact, M. Oppert himself writes: "The true reign of Sargon evidently dates from his fourth year, that is, from the year when he was eponyme," or archon.<sup>5</sup> The capture

<sup>1</sup> Certified by three eclipses in the first and second year.

<sup>2</sup> Oppert's *Inscrip. Assy. des Sargonides*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> "Merodah Baladan, fils de Jakin, roi de Chaldée" . . . . . "avait excité contre moi toutes les tribus nomades. Il se prépara à une bataille, et se porta en avant. Pendant 12 ans, contre la volonté des dieux de Babylone, la ville de Bel qui juge les dieux, il avait excité le pays des Sumirs et des Accads et leur avait envoyé des embassades."

<sup>4</sup> *Inscrip. Assy. des Sargonides*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

of Merodac-baladan, son of Yakin, therefore, must be placed in the year of the archonship of Manu-ki-Asshur-liha.

But if so, since the language of the inscriptions seems to imply that Sargon reigned more than fifteen years,<sup>1</sup> and his fifteenth year, B.C. 702, would thus be commensurate with the first of Sennacherib, the later years of his reign must have coincided with the early years of the reign of Sennacherib; so that Sennacherib's first year, B.C. 702, must be looked upon as merely in association with his father. This inference seems to be favoured by a passage in Abydenus, who, speaking of Sennacherib, observes that he "was scarcely to be recognized amongst the kings,"<sup>2</sup> which well accords with the idea of quasi sovereignty during his father's life. It is also supported apparently by copy No. 1 of the Canon, which does not even give the name of Sennacherib as archon till eighteen years after his nominal accession; while copies No. 2, and 4, give his name, in B.C. 702, in conjunction with another archon, an arrangement which occurs in connexion with no other king than Sennacherib; and copy No. 3 seems to name him as king under the title Asshur-acherib, not till the year B.C. 684. This suggestion, that Sennacherib ascended the throne of Assyria during the lifetime of his father, will prove to be of some importance when we come to the consideration of the reign of Shalmanezzer, and we shall then again have occasion to recur to it. For the present, having fixed the accession of Sargon to the year B.C. 717, we proceed to ascertain the date of the reign of his predecessor, Tiglath-pileser. Copy No. 4 of the Canon places the beginning of the reign of Tiglathpileser in the year following the archonship of Nebo-bil-uzur, that is to say, in the year B.C. 741. Copy No. 1, on the same principle which seems to regulate the years of Sargon and Sennacherib in that copy, includes the year of accession, and places the line which marks the change of reign one year earlier, and Sir Henry Rawlinson accordingly places the broken year of accession of Tiglath-pileser in the archonship of Nebo-bil-uzur, or B.C. 742,

<sup>1</sup> Sargon invaded Cyprus, as proved by his statue found at Idalium; but this invasion is not mentioned in his annals, extending over fifteen years.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *Auch.* p. 26.



*Extract from Rawlinson's Assyrian Canon.*

ARCHONS AT NINEVEH.

B.C.	CANON No. 1.	CANON No. 2.	CANON No. 3.	CANON No. 4.
750	Asshur-zallus (?), the king	—	Asshur-zallus (?), the king	Asshur-zallus (?) the king of Assyria
9	Samsi-el	—	Samsi-el	Samsi-el
8	Merodach-sallim-anni	—	Merodach-sallim-anni	Merodach-sallim-anni
7	Bil-ribu-el	—	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el
6	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)	—	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)	Shamas-idallik-kul (?)
5	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-bil-ikin	Asshur-bil-ikin
4	Sin-sallim-anni	Sin-sallim-anni	Sin-sallim-anni	Sin-sallim-anni
3	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir	Nergal-nazir
2	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur
1	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	Tukulti-pali-thirra, king of Assyria
740	Tukulti-pali-thirra	Tukulti-pali-thirra, the king	—	—
9	Nebo-danin-anni	Nebo-danin-anni	—	—
8	Bilu-kas (?) bil-uzur	Bil-zukas (?) bil-uzur	—	—
7	Nebo-karir-anni	Nebo-karir-anni	—	—
6	Sin-taggil	Sin-taggil	—	—
5	Yam-bil-ikin	Yam-ikin	—	—
4	Bil-limmi-anni	Bil-limmi-ani	—	—
3	Bar-Anunit	Bar-Anunit	—	—
2	Asshur-sallim-anni	Asshur-sallim-anni	—	—
1	Bil-ribu-el	Bil-ribu-el	—	—
730	Asshur-danin-anni	Asshur-danin-ani	—	—
9	Nebo-bil-uzur	Nebo-bil-uzur	—	—
8	Nergal-vapallit	Nergal-vapallit	—	—
7	Bil-lu-dari	—	—	—
6	Napkhar-el	—	—	—
5	Idur-Asshur	—	—	—
4	Bilu-kas (?) bil-uzur	—	—	—
3	Merodach-bil-uzur	—	—	—
2	Tizkaru (?)	—	—	—
1	Asshur-khalli	—	—	—
720	Asshur . . . (lost)	—	—	—
9	Bar-Anunit	—	Bar-Anunit	—
8	Nebo-edis (?)	—	Nebo-edis (?)	—
7	Asshur-tirrat (?) danin	—	Asshur-tirrat (?) danin	—
6	Sarru-gina	—	Sarru-gina, the king	—
5	Ziru-ipni	—	Ziru-ipni   Itib-Asshur	Ziru-ipni
4	Itib-Assur	—	—	Itib-Asshur
3	Itib-zilli-thirra	—	—	Itib-zilli-thirra
2	Taggil-ana-bil	—	Itib-zilli-thirra	Taggil-ana-bil
1	Bilat-idur	—	Taggil-ana-bil	Bilat-idur
710	Asshur-bani	—	Bilat-idur	Asshur-bani
9	Sarru-limmi-anni	—	—	Sarru-limmi-anni
8	Bar-alik-pani	—	—	Bar-alik-pani
7	Shamas-bil-uzur	Shamas-bil-uzur	—	Shamas-bil-uzur
6	Mannu-itti-Asshur-liha	Mannu-itti-Asshur-liha	—	Mannu-itti-Asshur-liha
5	Shamas-vapakhar	Shamas-vapakhar	—	Shamas-vapakhar
4	Sha-Asshur-igubbu (?)	Sha-Asshur-igubbu (?)	—	Sha-Asshur-igubbu (?)
3	Mutaggil-Asshur	Mutaggil-Asshur	—	Mutaggil-Asshur
702	Pakhar-bil	{ Sin-akhi-irba, the king } { Pakharra-bil }	—	Pakhar-bil
1	Nebo-daini-pal	Nebo-daini-pal	—	{ Sin-akhi-irba, king of Assyria } { Nebo-daini-pal }
700	Kan-zillai (?)	Kan-zillai (?)	—	Kan-zillai (?)
9	Nebo-liha	Nebo-liha	—	—
8	Khananu	Khananu	—	—
7	Mitunu	Mitunu	—	—
6	Bilu-sar . . .	Bilu . . .	—	—
5	Pani (?) . . sar	Pani . . .	—	—
4	Ilu-dur-uzur	Ilu . . .	—	—
3	Shalmanu-bil (?)	Shalmanu . .	—	—
2	Asshur-bil-uzur	—	—	—
1	. . . . . ya	—	—	—
690	Idin-akhi	—	—	—
9	Zazai	—	—	—
8	Bil-limmi-anni	—	—	—
7	Nebo-alak-uzur	—	—	—
6	Gi-khilu (?)	—	—	—
5	Idin-akhi	—	—	—
4	Sin-akhi-irba	(Canon No. 2 cannot have contained anything later than this period.)	Asshur-akhi-irba, the king	—
3	Bil-limmi-anni	—	—	—
2	Asshur-danin-anni	—	Bil-limmi-ani	—
1	Manu-zir-ili (?)	—	Asshur-danin-ani	—
680	Mannu-itti-Yam	—	Manu-zir-ili	—
	Nebo-sar-uzur	—	Mannu-itti-Yam	—
	Nebo-akh-isis	—	Nebo-sar-uzur	—
			Nebo-akhi-isis	—



absence of the name of "Pul king of Assyria," from the list of Assyrian kings in the Canon? The difficulty is more apparent than real. For Berosus, when naming Pul, speaks of him, not as one of the Assyrian line of kings, but very plainly as a king of the Chaldeans, who having gained possession of the empire, put an end to a dynasty of Assyrian kings which had lasted for 526 years. Asshur-zallus, therefore, *king of Nineveh*, who reigned till the year B.C. 743, according to the Canon, and whose successor on the throne of Nineveh was Tiglathpileser, must have reigned contemporaneously with "*Pul king of Assyria*." The obvious inference from these facts is, that the kingdom of Nineveh, during the reign of Asshur-zallus, and probably also of his predecessor, had fallen for a time under the yoke of the Chaldeans, a nation then rising into great power, and whose seat of government was at Beth-Yakina, towards the head of the Persian Gulph. Pul, the Chaldean king, must have been the predecessor of the great king Merodac-baladan, son of Yakin, who according to the inscriptions contended with Tiglathpileser and his successors during forty years, and the seat of his throne must have been, not at Nineveh, but at Beth-Yakina; while Asshur-zallus and his predecessor we may presume were suffered to remain as tributary kings at Nineveh, paying homage to the Chaldean king. This state of subjection of Assyria to the Chaldeans, we may infer lasted till the strong hand of Tiglathpileser, a king who was not born to the title but usurped it, seized the throne of Nineveh, under whom and his successors the Chaldeans were driven from Assyria, and from Babylon, and at one time even from Chaldea itself, taking refuge in the Persian Gulph. Such appears to be the simple explanation of a difficulty, which has led Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert to suggest, that the names of not less than thirty or forty archons at Nineveh have been omitted from the Assyrian Canon, between the reigns of Asshur-zallus and Tiglathpileser, in order to make room for the supposed reign of Pul.

There is no record left of the actual length of the reign of Pul, nor of the exact time when he first assumed the title of

"king of Assyria." Could we ascertain this date, we should be enabled, through Berosus, to count up to the date of Ninus and Semiramis at Babylon.

For Berosus reckons that the first 49 Chaldean kings reigned 458 yrs.

9 Arabian	"	"	145 <sup>1</sup>	"
45 Assyrian	"	"	526	"

Now, if we might rely upon an assertion made more than once by M. Oppert in his printed works,<sup>2</sup> that a document exists in the British Museum, proving that Tiglathpileser began to reign in the twentieth year of his predecessor,—that is, in the twentieth year of Pul's invasion,—the inference would be that Pul's invasion of Assyria took place about the year B.C. 760, and that the dynasty of Assyrian kings, which commenced 526 years before his time, came to the throne in the year B.C. 1286.

And if we add to this date 145 yrs. for an Arabian dynasty,  
and 458 " " Chaldean "

we arrive at the year B.C. 1889 as the era of the first Chaldean dynasty at Babylon, or era of Ninus.

This result, being founded on conjecture, as regards the length of the reign of Pul, of course affords no positive evidence that the year B.C. 1889 was the true date of the era of Ninus. Nevertheless, it agrees so remarkably with what Assyrian historians have recorded concerning the epoch of Ninus, that we can hardly doubt the correctness of the conclusion. Abydenus, Castor, and Ctesias, all point to this very date as marking the commencement of the kingdom of Ninus and Semiramis. Eusebius, who had before him the histories of Castor and Abydenus, tells us that they were agreed, and that they had each copied the complete list of the kings of Assyria, from Ninus and Semiramis down to Sardanapalus, who is declared to be the last of the Assyrian kings; and that they computed 167 years from Sardanapalus

<sup>1</sup> The figure in the text is 245. But if Castor has correctly preserved the interval of 1280 from Ninus to the end of the reign of Sardanapalus, there would appear to be exactly 100 years in excess in copying the figures from Berosus.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babylonians*, p. 7. *Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides*, p. 12.

(that is, from the end of his reign) to the first Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> So that, according to these authorities, Sardanapalus ceased to reign in the year B.C. 609, or 608, in which latter year accordingly Eusebius himself places the fall of Nineveh.<sup>2</sup> He then quotes a passage from Castor, showing that from the accession of Ninus to the accession of another king bearing the same title, who reigned after Sardanapalus, the last of the Assyrian kings, was a period of 1280 years. If then we add 1280 years to the year B.C. 609, we find that the era of Ninus, according to Abydenus and Castor, was B.C. 1889.

Again, Ctesias has preserved the very same date, reckoning upwards from the final destruction of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians, when the Assyrian king set fire to his palace in despair; incorrectly, however, supposing the Assyrian king to have been Sardanapalus, instead of his successor Saracus. For the empire of the Assyrians truly ended in the reign of Sardanapalus, the last of the dynasty (*omnium postremus*) in B.C. 609, who must have been the king who called in the assistance of the Scythians in B.C. 610, to save Nineveh from capture by the Medes. From that time, however, as Herodotus informs us, Assyria fell under the dominion of the Scythians for a period of twenty-eight years, that is, till the year B.C. 583. At the expiration of those twenty-eight years, soon after the great solar eclipse of B.C. 585—the date which governs the chronology of the period—Nineveh was finally destroyed by Cyaxares, king of Media, or as Ctesias and the Assyrian historians affirm, by the combined forces of the Medes and Babylonians. This, then, undoubtedly is the period referred to in the history from which Ctesias took his information, when the palace at Nineveh was burnt, and the last of the Assyrian kings, Saracus, not Sardanapalus, perished in the flames. Now

<sup>1</sup> "Deinde singulos a Nino et Semiramide recenset, usque ad Sardanapallum, qui fuit omnium postremus: a quo usque ad primam Olympiadem efficiuntur anni LXXVII" (lege CLXXVII). Abydenus itaque de regno Assyriorum singillatim ita scripsit. At non ipse solum, sed etiam Castor in primo Chronicorum brevi volumine, ad hujus exempli formam syllabatim quidem de Assyriorum regno narrat.—Euseb. *Auch.* p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 109.



Ctesias reckons 1306 years, from the time when the Medes and Babylonians destroyed Nineveh to the reign of Ninus the first king, which number of years added to the year B.C. 583, brings us again exactly to the same year, B.C. 1889, for the era of Ninus and Semiramis.<sup>1</sup>

The adjustment of the Assyrian and Babylonian Canons thus seems to lead with accuracy to the recovery of a very

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rawlinson, in his 2d vol. of "Ancient Monarchies," published on the day that this paper was read, writes p. 288, "Berosus placed the destruction of Nineveh in the first year of Nabopolassar, or B.C. 625, according to the Canon of Ptolemy," and too boldly asserts that "the direct authority for this important fact is Abydenus." Now, if faith is to be placed in Herodotus, the destruction of Nineveh took place at the end of a period of twenty-eight years, which period both began and ended in the reign of Cyaxares, king of Media. If, then, these twenty-eight years ended in B.C. 625, they must have begun in B.C. 652. But will Mr. Rawlinson venture to affirm that Cyaxares was on the throne of Media so early as B.C. 652? Cyaxares reigned forty years, and was alive at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585, so that he could not have come to the throne earlier than B.C. 626, nor could the arrival of the Scythians have taken place till after that date. Again, this is not the reckoning of Abydenus. On the contrary, we have already seen from a passage, not referred to by Mr. Rawlinson, that Abydenus placed the fall of Sardanapalus in the year B.C. 609; and in the passage to which the learned Professor does refer, Abydenus distinctly records that the destruction of Nineveh was at the end of the reign of Saracus, who reigned after Sardanapalus, the last Assyrian king. Moreover, he very plainly fixes the time of the overthrow of the city to the time when Nabuchodrossorus, son of Buzalossor, that is, Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar, took the throne of Babylon, and surrounded that city with a strong wall. Clearly, therefore, the destruction of Nineveh as placed by Abydenus, copying from Berosus, was at the end, not at the beginning of the reign of Nabopolassar. This king undoubtedly began to reign in the year B.C. 625, and as certainly his son Nebuchadnezzar came to the throne of Babylon immediately after his death. But there is no such certainty as to the time of his death. The common idea is that he died twenty-one years after B.C. 625. But Polyhistor, who also took his history of Assyria from Berosus, tells us plainly that Sardanapalus was the father of Nebuchadnezzar,\* that is, that Nabopolassar and Sardanapalus were one—that it was he who combined with the Medes to overthrow Nineveh—and that on the fall of Saracus he took the throne of Babylon, that is to say, in his old age, long after his ejection from the throne of Nineveh. With this also Cletarchus, the contemporary of Berosus, agrees, who says that Sardanapalus lived to a great age, after having lost the empire of Syria, that is, of Assyria. All this well accords with the testimony of Abydenus, who, though he does not give the actual length of the reign of Saracus, declares that Nineveh fell the full length of that reign after the year B.C. 609, thus leading us into the following century for the date of the event. When, therefore, Herodotus, as we have seen, actually fixes the time of the overthrow of Nineveh soon after the eclipse of B.C. 585; and when Demetrius, who wrote not long after Berosus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar—which followed immediately after the fall of Nineveh—in the year B.C. 582, the concurrence of historical testimony seems to place the destruction of Nineveh, not in the year B.C. 625, as the learned Professor suggests, but at the end of the twenty-eight years of Scythian domination, in B.C. 583. All which has been more fully set forth by the writer in Part iii., vol. ii. of the Transactions of the Chronological Institute.

remote and interesting epoch in ancient history, which has been the subject of much difference of opinion, ancient and modern. And thus the histories of Castor, Abydenus, and Ctesias, hitherto supposed to be in a state of irreconcilable contradiction, appear to be brought into harmony, both with each other, and with the Canon.

This in itself is an interesting result, springing incidentally out of the subject under examination, and is worthy of further investigation. It is not, however, the matter now in hand. We proceed, therefore, to point out a still more interesting, and in its results more important, inference to be derived from this invaluable record, viz., that the common reckoning of Hebrew chronology as arranged by Archbishop Ussher and his followers is, as regards the connexion of Assyria with the Holy Land, in error to the extent of twenty-three years; and that the reckoning of the Jew Demetrius of the third century B.C., which is in unison with the Canon in every particular, must be substituted in its place.

Let us return to the reign of Sennacherib, whose accession we have already fixed to the year B.C. 702. Following Mr. Fox Talbot's translation of Bellino's cylinder, we now read, that in the next year, B.C. 701, tribute was received by Sennacherib from Nebo the chief of Ararat, and the inhabitants of Kishmi were destroyed. In the following year, B.C. 700, Beth-kilamzakh and the land of Illipi was attacked, and tribute paid by the distant Medes.<sup>1</sup> Thus far all is clear and free from difficulty. But at this point arises a question of much importance, and one upon which the accurate adjustment of Scripture with the Assyrian Canon depends. The fourth year from the accession of Sennacherib, B.C. 699, is the year of the archonship of Neboliha, and Bellino's cylinder is dated in the seventh month of that year. No warlike events are recorded as having taken place during those seven months, but on the contrary the record on the cylinder is confined to a description of the peaceful operation of building a magnificent palace by the hands of the prisoners of war, under the direction of king Sennacherib himself, who being thus engaged

<sup>1</sup> Journ. R. Asiatic Society, vol. xviii., part i., p. 79.

during the first half of the year could not have conducted a distant campaign in the same year, involving the capture of more than forty walled cities, which was the result of Sennacherib's third campaign, as we learn from more than one inscription. For this third campaign appears to have comprised that famous expedition into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, when, according to the inscriptions, Ilulæus, king of Sidon, was deposed; when Hezekiah, king of Judah, was shut up in Jerusalem, and forty-six of his fenced cities taken, and when a tribute of thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver was laid upon him; and when also, as we learn from Scripture, Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, came out against Sennacherib in battle. It is quite clear, therefore, that Sennacherib's third campaign could not have taken place till after the fourth year of his reign, that is to say, till after the archonship of Neboliha. Nevertheless, Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert are constrained by their arrangement to place the campaign in this very year. Sir H. Rawlinson sees and avoids the difficulty, by raising the first year of Sennacherib to B.C. 704, and by placing the third campaign in the year after the archonship of Neboliha, that is in the fifth year of Sennacherib, or B.C. 700 according to his reckoning. All three authorities in coming to this result are mainly influenced by the supposed identification of Asshur-nadin, the eldest son of Sennacherib, who, in his fourth campaign, was set on the throne of Babylon by his father, with the Apronadius or Assaranadius of the Canon of Ptolemy, who came to the throne in B.C. 699. So that, if the fourth campaign is thus fixed to the year B.C. 699, the third must necessarily have taken place in the preceding year, B.C. 700. This argument is no doubt specious, and if not contradicted by facts, would be of some weight. Nevertheless, the inference derived from it is so entirely inconsistent with what is derived from other authentic records, that it is quite inadmissible. For, in the first place, while the identity of Apronadius<sup>1</sup> and Asshur-nadin, son of Sennacherib, is questionable, it is quite

<sup>1</sup> Apronadius was probably the brother of Sennacherib, reinstated on the fall of Belibus. The third year spoken of by Polyhistor is the third of Sennacherib, not the third of Belibus.

certain that Asshur-nadin and Asordanius of Polyhistor are one and the same king; and Polyhistor, as we shall presently see, places Asordanius on the throne, not in B.C. 699, but 689. And again, if Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa is placed in B.C. 700, neither the Tyrian annals of Menander, as we shall show, nor the record of the Hebrew Scriptures, can be reconciled with that date.<sup>1</sup>

In this difficulty we are fortunately enabled to resort for a solution to another valuable document, also now in the British Museum, which throws quite a different light on the question. Let us consult the record on the famous cylinder known as Taylor's cylinder, which recounts the particulars of eight campaigns conducted by Sennacherib, from the time of his accession down to the archonship of Billimiani, with whose name the cylinder is inscribed.

Now Billimiani presided as archon both in the fifteenth and twentieth years of the reign of Sennacherib, and the authorities are at issue as to which of these years should mark the date of the cylinder. Sir H. Rawlinson places the inscription in the former of these two years, B.C. 688; M. Oppert and Dr. Hincks in the latter, B.C. 684, according to their reckoning, 683 in our table. That this second arrangement is the true one is sufficiently manifest from the fact that Sennacherib's three last campaigns, that is his sixth, seventh, and eighth, during the sixth and eighth of which Susub is recorded to have been on the throne of Babylon, viz., in 686, 685, 684, thus fall in with three years of interregnum, or of disturbed and disputed succession at Babylon, left blank in the Canon of Ptolemy. Whereas if these three campaigns are placed, with Sir Henry, in the years 691, 690, and 689, the years of the reign of Susub<sup>2</sup> at Babylon fall at a time

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rawlinson observes—"The Hebrew and Assyrian numbers are here irreconcilable. I would propose to read in 2 Kings xviii. 13, twenty-seventh for fourteenth." And again, in addition to this supposed invasion in the twenty-seventh year, suggests that Sennacherib invaded Judæa a second time in the twenty-ninth year of Hezekiah. All which is directly opposed to Jewish history, which leads us to suppose that the last years of Hezekiah were years of peace.—*Anc. Mon.* vol. ii. p. 434 and 439.

<sup>2</sup> There is a tablet in the British Museum dated in the reign of Susub.—Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.* vol. ii. p. 452.

when the throne of Babylon was otherwise occupied, that is to say when it was held apparently in undisturbed possession by Mesessimordac of the Babylonian Canon. This latter arrangement therefore is quite inadmissible. And thus we arrive at the remarkable inference that while the second campaign of Sennacherib took place as early as the year B.C. 700, according to our reckoning, his sixth campaign did not take place till the year B.C. 686, leaving an interval between them of thirteen years; and also that during ten years of this interval Sennacherib's power was apparently in abeyance, and his reign without annals. The important question for consideration therefore is, did his third, fourth, and fifth campaigns occupy the first three years of this interval, following soon after the second campaign, as assumed by the three Assyrian authorities, or did they occupy the last three years immediately preceding the sixth campaign, as we now propose to prove? In other words, did the third campaign against Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, take place about the year B.C. 700, or as we determine, after an apparent interregnum of ten years, in B.C. 689? The collateral evidence in favour of the latter of these two dates is so clear and distinct that it seems to be impossible to set it aside.

I. Polyhistor, who places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in the year B.C. 604, counts 88 years upwards from that date to the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib, showing that he placed the beginning of that reign in B.C. 692,<sup>1</sup> and the third year, therefore, in B.C. 689. The computation we believe to be erroneous, but the date of the reign of Sennacherib is nevertheless distinct.

II. Demetrius, whose reckoning we shall show agrees in all respects with the Canon, writing about fifty years after Berosus, and who had no doubt seen that author's work, places the invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib 457 years before the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, that is, in B.C. 689-8.

III. The year B.C. 689 was a sabbatical year with the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Cornewall Lewis writes, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 430, "Assuming the capture of Babylon by Cyrus to be fixed at B.C. 538, the chronology of Berosus would place the accession of Sennacherib at B.C. 693."



Jews, counted in regular series from three sabbatical years, the dates of which are fixed by Josephus;<sup>1</sup> and in the year in which Sennacherib invaded Judæa we read these words of encouragement spoken to the Jewish king and people—"This shall be a sign unto you," (that Sennacherib shall not besiege Jerusalem) "ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself" (that is, in the open field); the very words made use of with reference to the sabbatical year at the time of its institution. So that the invasion of Judæa would appear to have taken place in a sabbatical year, which B.C. 689 was. The year B.C. 700, however, falls in the midst of a week of years, and was not sabbatical.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, the testimony of the inscriptions, in conjunction with the Tyrian annals of Menander, preserved by Josephus, is decisive on the question. For, the first event recorded in the third campaign of Sennacherib is the deposition of Luliah king of Sidon, and the setting up of Tubaal in his stead; and in an inscription copied by Mr. Layard, and referred to by Dr. Hincks, Luliah is said to have fled from Tyre to Cyprus. All are agreed, therefore, in recognizing in this king the Ilulæus king of Tyre spoken of by Menander; and Menander certifies that he reigned thirty-six years.<sup>3</sup> Now, according to the reckoning which places Sennacherib's third campaign in B.C. 700, there is found to be no vacancy on the throne of Tyre for a continuous reign of thirty-six years about the time of Sennacherib; while according to our reckoning, the thirty-six years reign of this great king of Tyre are accounted for with exactness. For, if we reckon thirty-six years upwards from the year B.C. 700, we come to the year 736 for the first year of Ilulæus, when we have the evidence of Assyrian inscriptions<sup>4</sup> to prove that Hiram, not Ilulæus, was on the throne of Tyre, and that after Hiram reigned Mit-enna, who was still on the throne

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's treatise on Hebrew chronology in Part iv. vol. ii. of the Transactions of the Chronological Institute.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Rawlinson, who admits the force of this argument, assumes that there was a second invasion by Sennacherib in the year B.C. 689, in the last year of Hezekiah.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, Ant. IX. xiv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Athenæum, August 22, 1863.

about the twelfth year of the reign of Tiglathpileser, B.C. 730, according to the Canon. So that the Tyrian annals cannot under this arrangement be reconciled with the Assyrian inscriptions. On this ground accordingly the historical character of Menander's invaluable record has been, rashly as we think, called in question both by Sir Henry, and Professor Rawlinson.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if we count thirty-six years upwards from B.C. 689, we come to the year B.C. 725, in which year Mit-enna may have ceased to reign; and on turning to the Canon of Ptolemy we find that a king bearing this same title, Ilulæus, began to reign at Babylon in the year B.C. 726-5. The coincidence of date and name is so exact, that we cannot but infer that Ilulæus of Tyre, and Ilulæus of Babylon were one and the same king.<sup>2</sup> But if so, it is clear that as Ilulæus came to the throne in B.C. 726-5, and reigned thirty-six full years, he did not cease to reign till the year B.C. 689, which must therefore have been the year of Sennacherib's third campaign.

This identification of the Babylonian Ilulæus with the king of Tyre, opens an interesting subject of inquiry concerning the political and commercial relations between Tyre and Babylon, and the dependence of the one city upon the other for its prosperity, about the time of which we are speaking; a subject worthy of a few words of digression.

The Phœnicians, as Herodotus informs us,<sup>3</sup> came originally from the Erythræan sea, or Persian Gulph; and we learn from Justin that they first established themselves upon the Assyrian lake,<sup>4</sup> that is, a lake in connexion with the river Euphrates, west of Babylon,—a position convenient for conducting the carrying trade from the Gulph through Babylonia,—and from thence, in course of time, they made their way to the coast of the Mediterranean sea, first establishing themselves at Sidon, and after many years building the city of Tyre. Aradus, Tripolis, Dora, and Joppa, we know were also numbered amongst the Phœnician cities. Strabo informs

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i., p. 471.

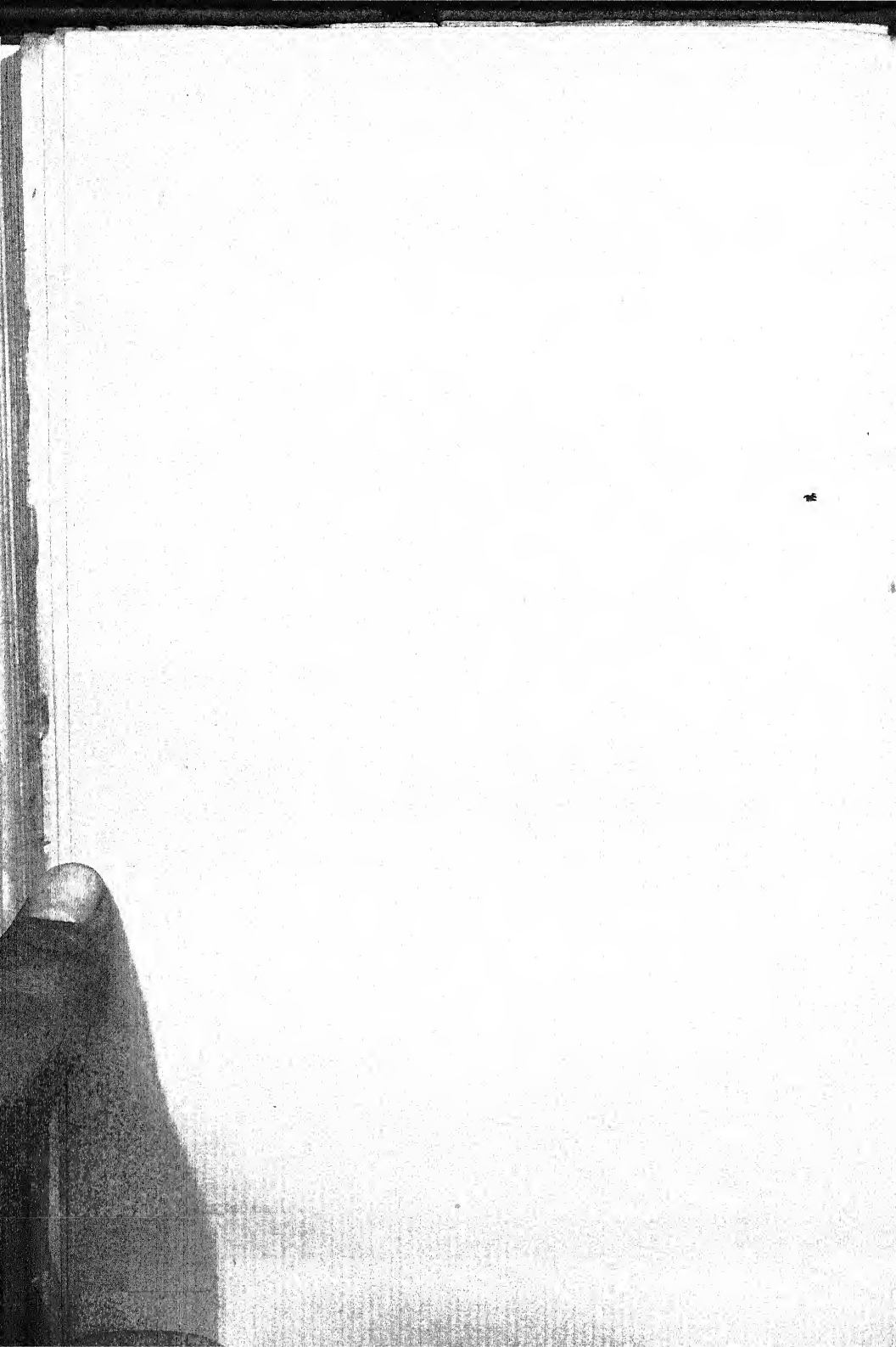
<sup>2</sup> Professor Rawlinson denies the identity of the two kings, but no reason for this denial is given. *Anc. Mon.* vol. ii., p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, xviii. 3.

*Babylonian, Tyrian, and Assyrian Chronology combined.*

B.C.	KINGS OF BABYLON.	KINGS OF TYRE.	KINGS OF NINEVEH.	ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB.	
747	1 Nabonassar				
6	2				
5	3				
4	4				
3	5				
2	6		1 Tiglathpileser		
1	7		2		
740	8		3		
9	9		4		
8	10	Hiram	5		Tiglathpileser takes tribute of
7	11		6		Menahem, Rezin, and Hiram.
6	12		7		
5	13		8		
4	14		9		
3	1 Nadius		10		
2	2		11		
1	1 Chinzerus		12		
730	2 and	Mitenna	13		
9	3 Porus.		14		
8	4		15		
7	5		16		
6	1 Ilulæus	Ilulæus	17		
5	2		18		
4	3		19		
3	4		20		
2	5		21		
1	1 Mardoc-		22		
720	2 empadus		23		
9	3		24		
8	4		25		
7	5		26 Sargon		
6	6		1		
5	7		2		Sargon takes Samaria. Pekah slain.
4	8		3		
3	9		4		
2	10		5		
1	11		6		
710	12		7		
9	1 Archianus		8		
8	2		9		
7	3		10		
6	4		11		
5	5		12		
4			13		
3			14		
2	1 Belibus		15. 1 Sennacherib		Sargon associates Sennacherib with
1	2		2	1st campaign	him on the throne, (and takes the
700	3		3	2nd "	title Shalmanezar, qu.)
9	1 Apronadius		4		
8	2		5		
7	3		6		
6	4		7		Shalmanezar (qu. Sargon) takes
5	5		8		Samaria. Hoshea deposed.
4	6		9		
3	1 Regibelus		10		"Shalman" and "king Jareb," that
2	1 Mesessi-		11		is, Shalmanezar and Sennacherib,
1	2 mordac		12		contemporaries.—Hoshea x. 6-14.
690	3		13		
9	4		14	3rd campaign	Sennacherib invades Judæa. De-
8			15	4th "	poses Ilulæus.
7			16	5th "	
6			17	6th "	Susub reigns at Babylon.
5			18	7th "	
4			19	8th "	Susub reigns at Babylon.
3			20		
2			21		
1			22		
680	Asaradinus		23		
9			24		



us that in his days there were islands in the Persian Gulph bearing the names of Tylus or Tyrus, Aradus, and Doracta,<sup>1</sup> which latter name Mr. Kenrick identifies with Dora;<sup>2</sup> and in the voyage of Nearchus up the Gulph we read of Sidodone, and Tarsia,<sup>3</sup> on the coast of Carmania; all which sufficiently indicates close commercial intercourse between Tyre and the Gulph. "From the Persian Gulph," observes Heeren, "they extended their commerce to the western peninsula of India, and the island of Ceylon."<sup>4</sup>

Tarsia we assume to be the Tarshish so frequently spoken of in Scripture, and Tyre is called by Isaiah "daughter of Tarshish;"<sup>5</sup> as, in fact, born of the commerce between the Persian Gulph and the Western world. The coast of Carmania, or Tarshish, in the days of the opening of this commerce, when distant voyages by sea were unknown, was probably the point on the Gulph to which the trade by caravan from the far East—from "the ends of the earth"<sup>6</sup>—was directed, and from thence distributed up the Tigris and Euphrates to the great cities of the world. We learn from Al-Edrissi, that in the ninth century of our era the town of Siraff, close to the site of Tarsia,<sup>7</sup> was a centre of Oriental commerce which extended perhaps as far as China;<sup>8</sup> and even as late as the sixteenth century, when the Eastern trade had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, who were accustomed to voyages as far as the East Indies, the island of Ormuz on the same coast, somewhat nearer to the mouth of the Gulph, which superseded Siraff, was one of the principal stations of their trade. Thus the wealth of India and the distant East was transported in "ships of Tarshish" by way of

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xvi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 358-362.

<sup>4</sup> Heeren's Manual of Ancient History. Eng. Trans. p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Isaiah xxiii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Psalm lxxii.

<sup>7</sup> When Jonah fled to Tarshish, it was to the Persian Gulph that he fled, not to Tartessus in Spain, as many suppose. He took ship probably at Opis, on the Tigris, a place so called by the Greeks, but which may have had the same derivation as Joppa, both being probably named by traders from the Gulph. It is a curious fact, as connected with Jonah, that some of the houses at Siraff are said to have been built with the bones of whales, showing the abundance of that fish in the Persian Gulph.

<sup>8</sup> Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 365.



the Euphrates through Babylonia towards Tyre; while much of the wealth of Arabia, which was also poured into Tyre, we learn from Aristobulus was carried by the merchants of Gherra, on the Arabian side of the Gulph, on rafts up the Euphrates to Thapsacus.<sup>1</sup> About two hundred and fifty miles below Thapsacus, according to Niebuhr, there was a canal of five hundred miles in length direct from the Euphrates to the Persian Gulph, which being a great work to keep in repair, affords a strong indication of the extent of the traffic to and from the Gulph.<sup>2</sup>

This traffic of the Tyrians with Tarshish, and the islands of the Persian Gulph, was in active operation nearly one thousand years before the Christian era, even in the days of Solomon king of Israel and Judah, concerning whose wide dominion we read, that it should reach "from sea to sea, and from the river (Euphrates) unto the ends of the earth;" and to whom it is declared, "the kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts."<sup>3</sup> Solomon we know had a fleet upon the Arabian Gulph, manned by the sailors of Hiram king of Tyre,<sup>4</sup> by which immense produce of gold was annually imported from Ophir, on the coast of Africa. But in addition to this fleet we read that he had also another fleet,<sup>5</sup> expressly called "a navy of Tarshish," an expression understood by the writer of the book of Chronicles<sup>6</sup> as a navy trading to Tarshish, which together with the "navy of Hiram," (who does not appear to have had a fleet on the Arabian Gulph,) made once in three years a distant expedition, bringing back a freight of gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks; a sufficient indication that this expedition was directed towards the East, and not in the direction of the Mediterranean. Some have supposed that this "navy of Tarshish" sailed from the Arabian Gulph, and that, coasting the south of Arabia, it reached some distant point in the direction of India. But it is hard to believe that such skilful navigators as the Tyrians, who

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xvi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm lxxii.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Chron. ix. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 514.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings ix. 26, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. x. 22.

must have been well acquainted with the direct route towards the East by the Euphrates, and whose ally and associate, Solomon, was in possession of all the country lying between Tyre and the Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> and who moreover had built Tadmor, or Palmyra, within three days' journey of the Euphrates, with the express object of encouraging the commerce with Tipsah, or Thapsacus, a port on that river within his own dominions—it is hard, we say, to believe that two such skilful traders, in the days when navigation was chiefly conducted by the tedious operation of rowing, could have so far erred, as to have chosen a route towards the East more than a thousand miles greater in length than that by the river Euphrates. The very expression “navy of Tarshish,” in conjunction “with the navy of Hiram,” seems intended to distinguish this fleet from that which was built at Ezion-geber, which was merely manned with Tyrian sailors, but not accompanied by the fleet of Hiram.

About four hundred years later than the reign of Solomon, *i.e.* about the year B.C. 560, we have an account in the book of Ezekiel, written in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, of the very same traffic of the Tyrians with the Persian Gulph. At this time Tartessus, or Tarshish, in Spain had been founded by the Tyrians, and silver, iron, tin, and lead were imported from that colony. But after describing the traffic of the western world with Tyre, Ezekiel goes on to describe that with the East, naming in succession Damascus, Haran, Canneh, Sheba, Asshur, at that time comprehending all Mesopotamia, Chilmad, or Carmania, according to the Septuagint, Dedan, and Raamah, both placed by Bochart in the Gulph of Persia,<sup>2</sup> while the army of Tyre appears to have been composed partly of recruits from Persia. Nebuchadnezzar, who had conquered Tyre after a siege of thirteen years, and who had built Tere-don,<sup>3</sup> near the mouth of the Euphrates, with the view of keeping open the commerce of the gulph with Babylon, had possessed himself of the command of the whole traffic from

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings iv. 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> See Vincent's Dissertation on the xxvii. chapter of Ezekiel.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. Auch. p. 28.

thence to Tyre, to the great enrichment of Babylon. After the conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, we still find Baal reigning over that city, who, we must presume, had been placed on the throne by the king of Babylon; and about forty years later we find from Menander that two kings in succession, viz., Merabal and Hiram, were called for from Babylon, where probably they resided as hostages, to come and take possession of the throne of Tyre. The connexion between the two cities at that time was that of subordination on the part of Tyre.

Again, about two hundred and thirty years after Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, that is, about B.C. 330, Alexander conceived the idea of diverting this great Eastern trade into new channels. He subdued Tyre after an obstinate resistance, and on his return to Babylon from the East sought to make that city the capital of his empire. The Euphrates was still navigable for ships of considerable size, and we find at this period the same connexion of the fleets of Tyre with the Euphrates as in former days. We learn from Arrian,<sup>1</sup> that according to the ancient and common practice, which must have been adopted by Hiram in the days of Solomon, and by Ilulæus in the days of Sennacherib, Alexander transported no less than forty-seven ships in pieces, on the backs of camels, from Tyre to Thapsacus, where they were launched on the Euphrates and carried down to Babylon, some being of the size of five bank of oars. Alexander had constructed at Babylon a harbour capable of holding one thousand ships, his object being to conquer Arabia, colonise the islands in the Persian Gulph, and monopolise the trade of the East; and in the feverish contemplation of this expedition he was suddenly overtaken by death.

Thus, then, we have traced a close commercial connexion between Tyre and Babylon, extending over a period of six hundred and fifty years, during which the whole trade between the eastern and western parts of the world was carried through those two cities; and during part of which time Tyre was in direct subjection to Babylon, receiving from thence

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, vii. 19.

her kings. We now return back to the particular reign of Ilulæus, in whose time it is quite clear that, so far from submitting to dictation from Babylon, the kingdom of Tyre was in a position of such power and importance, for a time at least, as to have imposed princes, even upon that great city. In the reign of Ilulæus, who was contemporary with Hezekiah, king of Judah, the prosperity of Tyre had reached the height of its grandeur. Isaiah, foretelling the destruction of the "joyous city," speaks of her merchants at that time as "princes," "her traffickers" as "the honourable of the earth." These expressions imply great grandeur and riches on the part of her citizens. But in addition to this, the prophet uses an expression concerning Tyre which implies extended dominion and imperial power, reaching over territories far beyond the precincts of the little state. Tyre is designated the "crowning city," or, as otherwise translated, the dispenser of crowns—the setter up of kings;<sup>1</sup> and the direction in which her dominion had extended is pretty clearly indicated to have been towards Chaldea. From the Assyrian Inscriptions we learn that there was on the Euphrates a strongly fortified city bearing the name Tsur, or Tyre.<sup>2</sup> In the same chapter of Isaiah which proclaims the greatness and approaching downfall of Tyre, the prophet points out Chaldea as the stronghold of her greatness. For, suddenly breaking off from his denunciations against Tyre, he exclaims—"Behold the land of the Chaldeans This people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them which dwell in the wilderness. They set up the towers thereof and the palaces thereof. He (the Assyrian) brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, (that is, ye ships which trade with the Persian Gulph) for your strength (that is Chaldea) is laid waste."<sup>3</sup>

This passage alone is sufficient to prove the occupation of the Euphrates at this time by the fleets of Tyre. But the

<sup>1</sup> When Rezin and Pekah conspired to dethrone Ahaz, "and to set a king in the midst" of Judah, "even the son of Tabeal," Isaiah vii. 6, it seems probable that Tabeal (qu. Tubaal) was a Tyrian prince.

<sup>2</sup> See Rawlinson's map, *Anc. Mon.* vol. i.; and *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, new series, ix. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xxiii. 8-13.

presence of the Tyrian fleet is still more directly confirmed by the testimony of Assyrian inscriptions, the authority of which is decisive upon this point. In the annals of Sennacherib, recorded on Taylor's cylinder, we read, that this king, who had conquered Tyre in his third campaign, when in pursuit of his enemies, the Chaldeans, about three years later, who had taken refuge in the province of Elam, conducted his army over "the great sea of the rising sun,"—the Gulph of Persia—in "Syrian ships," that is to say, in those very ships of Tarshish spoken of by Isaiah, so well accustomed to the navigation of the Gulph, and so lately in the service of the king of Tyre: now, however, bewailing the loss of their stronghold in Chaldea, destroyed by Sennacherib. And much cause had the Tyrians for lamentation. For Sennacherib, we are told, had built Tarsus on the coast of Cilicia, and called it Tharsis or Tarshish,<sup>1</sup> borrowing the name from Tarshish in the Gulph, forming the city after the fashion of Babylon; and his views were now directed no doubt towards diverting the trade from its original route from the Gulph, through Babylon and Tyre, and directing it up the Tigris, through Nineveh, favouring the new port of his own construction on the river Cydnus.

Up to this time the whole commerce of the world, east and west, had centered in the markets of Tyre and Chaldea, and the ships in which this trade was carried on were denominated "ships of Tarshish." Notwithstanding, therefore, the position of the kingdom of Syria, with its capital Damascus, standing between Tyre and the Euphrates—to which city no doubt large tribute was paid for safe conduct—we cannot but conclude that this vast trade by caravan to the Euphrates, and from thence to Babylon and the Persian Gulph, was as much under the control of the merchant princes of Tyre, as the overland route through Egypt, in connexion with the same Eastern trade, is now under the direction of enterprising British merchants. Considering, therefore, that we find a fortified port established on the Euphrates, bearing the name of Tyre

<sup>1</sup> Et Tarsum urbem, ipse ad similitudinem Babylonis condidit, quam appellavit Tharsin.—Euseb. Auch. p. 21.



—that in the reign of Ilulæus a powerful Tyrian fleet occupied that river—that the pre-eminence of Tyre was such in the days of Ilulæus as to entitle that city to the designation “crowning” or imperial city—and that during five years of the reign of Ilulæus at Tyre, a king bearing the same title, Ilulæus, was seated on the throne of Babylon, on the line of commerce which formed the source of his own great riches—it is not unreasonable to assume that the Tyrian dominion had extended during that short period even to Babylon itself. But if Ilulæus of Tyre, and Ilulæus of Babylon are one, then are the years of this king distinctly fixed, as before observed, as commencing in B.C. 726-5, and terminating in B.C. 689. Moreover, whether the identity of the kings be admitted or not, the chronological argument is almost equally conclusive. For, as we have seen, the accession of Ilulæus to the throne of Tyre must have taken place within two or three years at most of the year B.C. 726, and his fall therefore within two or three years at most of B.C. 689; and when other concurrent testimony leads us expressly to this latter date as the time of his fall, the just inference is, that the year B.C. 689 was the actual last year of his reign, and therefore also the date of the third campaign of Sennacherib.

Returning now from this digression, we find that we have approached far towards the completion of our inquiry. For, having already ascertained the dates of the three kings, Tiglathpileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, and having fixed with precision the date of one leading event in the latter reign, in connexion with the kingdom of Judah, it now only remains to select some prominent event of a similar nature from the reigns of each of the other two kings, together with their dates, in order to compare the chronology of the Assyrian Canon with the reckoning of Demetrius, and of Ussher. This we shall be able to do in a very few words.

Monsieur Oppert has arranged and interpreted the mutilated annals of the reign of Sargon, from the Khorsabad inscriptions now in the Louvre, from which we learn that Sargon in the course of the second year after his accession, that is, in the course of the year B.C. 716-15, captured the

city of Samaria, carrying away from thence 27,280 captives. M. Oppert places the date of this event in the year B.C. 720, before the accession of Sargon to the throne, with a view, no doubt, to the common reckoning of the date of the capture of Samaria in the reign of Hoshea. But if, as M. Oppert himself has observed, Sargon's twelfth year commenced in the archonship of Mannu-itti-asshur-liha, that is in the year B.C. 706, his second year must have commenced in the year B.C. 716, and have ended in B.C. 715, about which time, therefore, Samaria was overthrown.

Again, Sir H. Rawlinson has been at much pains to arrange the disjointed annals of Tiglathpileser, and writes:—"I can distinguish, I think, from the inscriptions at least three several campaigns in Southern Syria: the first extending probably from the fourth to the eighth year of the king" (that is, from B.C. 739 to 735 in our table) "and during which tribute was received from Menahem of Samaria, and Rezin of Damascus"—when also Hiram was reigning on the throne of Tyre—"the second some years later, perhaps about B.C. 733 (731 in our table) when the cities of Samaria were plundered, and the inhabitants were carried away into captivity; and the third, which may have been a mere continuation of the second, and which must have occupied a large portion of the remainder of the king's reign."<sup>1</sup> Thus—Tiglathpileser took tribute of Menahem, say in his

fifth year . . . . .	B.C. 738
Sargon captured Samaria in 716, or . . . . .	715
Sennacherib came up against Judæa in . . . . .	689

Such is the reckoning of the Assyrian Canon. Let us compare these dates with the reckoning of Demetrius.

According to the record of Demetrius—

Menahem reigned over Samaria from B.C. 746 to . . .	737
Samaria was deprived of its native king for nine years in . . .	715
Sennacherib came up against Judæa in . . . . .	689

And now let us compare the reckoning of the Assyrian Canon with the chronology of Ussher.

<sup>1</sup> Athenæum, August 22, 1863.

*The Hebrew Chronology of Demetrius and Ussher compared with the Assyrian Canon, and with reference to the Sabbatical years of the Jews.*

B.C.	KINGS OF NINEVEH.	EVENTS SELECTED FROM ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.	CHRONOLOGY OF DEMETRIUS.	CHRONOLOGY OF USSHER.
770				Menahem 1
9				2
8				3
7				4
Sab. 6				5
5				6
4				7
3				8
2				9
1				10
760				Pekahiah 1
Sab. 9				2
8				Pekah 1
7				2
6				3
5				4
4				5
3				6
Sab. 2				7
1				8
750				9
9				10
8				11
7				12
Sab. 6			Menahem 1	13
5			2	14
4			3	15
3			4	16
2			5	17
1			6	18
740	1 Tiglathpileser		7	19
Sab. 9			8	20
8		Takes tribute of Menahem, king of Samaria.	9	
7			10	
6			Pekahiah 1	
5			2	
4			3	
3			4	
Sab. 2			Pekah 1	
1			2	
730			3	
9			4	
8			5	
7			6	
6			7	
5			8	
Sab. 4			9	
3			10	
2			11	
1			12	
720			13	
9			14	
8			15	
7			16	
6			17	
5			18	
Sab. 4			19	
3			20	
2				
1				
710				
Sab. 9			1 Ahaz	
8			2	
7			3	
6			4	
5			5	
Sab. 4			6	
3			7	
2			8	
1			9	
700			10	
Sab. 9			11	
8			12	
7			13	
6			14	
5			15	
Sab. 4			16	
3			17	
2			18	
1			19	
690			20	
Sab. 9			21	
Jubilee. 8			22	
7			23	
6			24	
5			25	
4			26	
Sab. 3			27	
2			28	
1			29	
680				
9				
8				
7				
6				
5				
4				
3				



According to Ussher—

Menahem ceased to reign in . . . . .	B.C. 761
Samaria was taken by Shalmanezzer. . . . .	721
Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the fourteenth of	
Hezekiah. . . . .	713

Thus, it appears, that the reckoning of Demetrius is in perfect unison with the Canon, throughout the fifty years which we have been examining, and that the capture of Samaria by Sargon was concurrent with the fall of Pekah, king of Israel, after whose reign the kingdom of Israel was deprived of its native ruler for nine years, and not with the fall of Hoshea; while the chronology of Ussher differs from the Canon to the extent of twenty-three or twenty-four years in excess. But how, it will be asked, have the three Assyrian scholars treated these manifest difficulties?

M. Oppert and Dr. Hincks, taking it for granted that Ussher and Clinton must be right in fixing the date of the capture of Samaria by Shalmanezzer in the year B.C. 721, begin first by torturing the capture of Samaria by Sargon, into the capture of that city by Shalmanezzer, and take this year as the fundamental date of their reckoning.<sup>1</sup> If this were the true key to the adjustment of Assyrian and Hebrew history, during the three reigns under discussion, we might expect, of course, to find the several events recorded in the annals of the two countries ranging themselves together without difficulty or collision. It is an evidence, therefore, that they have proceeded upon a false assumption, when we find that the adoption of this date leads them into insuperable difficulties. Thus, if Samaria was conquered in 721, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, the last year of Menahem of Samaria, which was concurrent with the forty-ninth of Uzziah, must have fallen in B.C. 761. But the year B.C. 761 stands nineteen years before the accession of Tiglathpileser, who in his fourth or fifth year took tribute of Menahem. Now Dr. Hincks, who is followed by M. Oppert, boldly meets this difficulty by proclaiming the incompetency of the transcribers of the Assyrian Canon.

<sup>1</sup> Shalmanezzer was contemporary with So, or Sabaco, king of Egypt, who, according to Manetho, was not on the throne so early as B.C. 721. Dr. Hincks and Prof. Rawlinson accordingly alter the record of Manetho to suit their purpose.



In a recent treatise on the Egyptian dynasties of Manetho, bearing date, 1863, a copy of which has been presented to the Society, Dr. Hincks writes:—"As respects Sir Henry Rawlinson's Canon, this is not a cotemporary document, but a compilation made by an unknown person in the reign of Asshurbanipal. Its inconsistency with my restoration of Manetho, supported as this is by astronomical observations, proves that the compiler was a blunderer."<sup>1</sup> He charges the compiler therefore with omitting the names of thirty archons. This is indeed a ready mode of getting rid of adverse testimony, but is supported by no substantial argument. On the contrary, Sir H. Rawlinson has frequently declared that there is not the slightest foundation for any such idea. When also we consider that it must have been not one blunderer only, but four independent and incompetent scribes—one of them living in the reign of Sennacherib—who have combined to omit the exact number of archons required by Dr. Hinck's reckoning, the idea is simply incredible. Sir Henry Rawlinson sees the absolute necessity of bringing down the reign of Menahem so as to range with the early years of Tiglathpileser, and thus avoids the false position of his two Assyrian coadjutors. Under the influence, however, of what we consider to be a false Egyptian reckoning, he fears to make the necessary alteration of the same number of years in the following reigns, and making therefore an arbitrary arrangement of the reigns of Jotham, Pekah, Ahaz, and Hoshea, which he candidly confesses, "is open to many serious objections," arrives at the conclusion that Sennacherib must have invaded Judæa both in the fourteenth and twenty-seventh years of Hezekiah."<sup>2</sup>

But to pursue Dr. Hincks through the difficulties—overwhelming indeed to any ordinary controvertist—in which he is involved by his assumption, that Sargon's capture of Samaria was that which followed immediately after the siege by Shalmanezzer. Scripture informs us that eight years after the fall of Samaria (in 721, as he supposes), in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, B.C. 713, Sennacherib came up against

<sup>1</sup> Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho, Part i., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæum, August 22, 1863.

Judaea. But this date is found to be ten or eleven years before the accession of Sennacherib to the throne, according to the Canon. The same ready mode of avoiding the difficulty is, therefore, again adopted, as in the case of the four Assyrian scribes. The Jewish scribe—who was, probably, no less a person than Ezra himself—is at once declared to be in error, and the suggestion is, that in three places in Scripture where we read “fourteenth year of Hezekiah,” we should amend the reading to “twenty-seventh of Hezekiah.”

With unfeigned respect for the learning and ability of Dr. Hincks, who has performed such invaluable services in deciphering and laying before the public the very materials upon which in great measure we are enabled to found our argument, few, we presume, will be disposed to follow him in such a mode of proving the consistency of the Assyrian Canon with the current Bible chronology. Every attempt at reconciliation of the Canon with Ussher's dates, even in the able hands which have undertaken it, leads to nothing but rejection or violation of authorities, hitherto supposed to be worthy of trust; and should it be admitted that the dates which we have attached to the Assyrian Canon have been correctly arrived at, it is, we submit, clear beyond question, that the Hebrew chronology of Ussher and his followers is, antedated to the extent of twenty-three or twenty-four years.

Before we conclude, let us advert to a great difficulty which appears to overhang the Assyrian Canon, whether viewed in connexion with the chronology of Ussher or Demetrius, viz., that the name of “Shalmanezzer, king of Assyria,” who plays so prominent a part in Scripture in the overthrow of Samaria, is not included amongst the kings named in the Canon. The necessary inference seems to be, either that he was a subordinate prince, not counted at Nineveh amongst the sovereign rulers of Assyria, which is apparently inconsistent with what we read concerning him in Scripture, or that he was identical with one of the kings named in the Canon. We cannot ignore his existence; and if the reckoning of Demetrius is correct, the ten tribes were carried away by this king into captivity four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the

reign of Ptolemy Philopator, that is in the year B.C. 696-5.<sup>1</sup> But if this be so, then must Shalmanezar have reigned over Assyria in the course of the same twenty-four years which the Assyrian Canon assigns to the reign of Sennacherib. Now we have already observed that there is an apparent blank in the reign of Sennacherib of ten years, during which nothing is recorded concerning him; and we have also observed that Sargon must have taken his son Sennacherib into association with him on the throne before he had himself ceased to reign. Are we then driven to the conclusion that Sargon, Sennacherib, and Shalmanezar all reigned in Assyria together? This would indeed be a strange conclusion to arrive at. No, the probable inference is, that when Sargon in his fifteenth year, B.C. 702, thought fit to take his son Sennacherib into the government, he himself assumed the ancient and well-known title Shalmanezar. That Shalmanezar and Sennacherib were on the throne at the same time, appears to be placed beyond question by the contemporary writings of Hosea. Speaking of the impending destruction of Samaria, which we know took place after a three years' siege by Shalmanezar, "when the king of Israel shall be utterly cut off," the prophet writes—"all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel."<sup>2</sup> Strange comments have been made upon this passage; but, with Rosenmüller, we are of opinion that Shalman here signifies no other than Shalman-ezer, by whom Samaria was besieged. But if so, this Shalman was reigning in the time of Sennacherib. For in the same chapter of Hosea which speaks of Shalman, and with reference to the destruction of Samaria, and the calf, that is the golden calf, of Bethaven worshipped by the ten tribes, the prophet writes—"it shall also be carried into Assyria, for a present to king Jareb." To no other king of Assyria, living about the time of the fall of Samaria, can this appellation be applied, except to Sennacherib, or San-akh-

<sup>1</sup> "Demetrius says," in his work concerning the kings of Judea, "that from the time when the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria, to the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, was a period of five hundred and seventy-three (read four hundred and seventy-three years) and nine months, and from the carrying away from Jerusalem three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months."—Clem. Alex. Heinsii. Strom. i. p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea x. 14, 15.

Jareb. So that, in fact, we are here told that Shalmanezzer shall present the golden calf of Samaria as a trophy to Sennacherib.

Again, that Shalmanezzer and Sargon were one, is supported by the fact, that the same acts which the Tyrian annals appropriate to Shalmanezzer were actually performed by Sargon. There is a statue of Sargon now in the Berlin Museum, brought from Idalium in the island of Cyprus, a city not far from Citium, proving that Sargon, who usually set up his image to mark his conquests, had brought under subjection the Citians; and these are the very people which are spoken of in the Tyrian annals as subdued by Shalmanezzer.

M. Oppert, on the assumption that Shalmanezzer reigned in B.C. 721, just before the reign of Sargon, discusses the question of the possible identity of Sargon and Shalmanezzer, and justly decides against it, on the ground that no king who had once borne the title Shalmanezzer, one of the ancient and revered titles of the Assyrian monarchy, would have afterwards recorded the actions of his first fifteen years under the title Sargon, or king *de facto*. But place the reign of Shalmanezzer, with Demetrius, about the year B.C. 696, and the argument is reversed. For Sargon, the plebeian, may well have assumed the ancient title Shalmanezzer, when after fifteen years of warlike exploits he had firmly seated himself on the Assyrian throne.

The assumption, then, is not unreasonable, that Shalmanezzer and Sargon were one and the same king; and this, if we come to consider, is exactly what may be inferred from the words of one who was living at Nineveh in the reign of Shalmanezzer.

Many are disposed to treat the book of Tobit as unhistorical, owing to the legend and superstition contained in it; and yet such men as Ussher, Prideaux, Sir I. Newton, and the late Mr. Fynes Clinton, have by no means looked upon it as unhistorical. Now Tobit, the Jewish captive, who had been carried to Nineveh by Enemessar, that is, Shal-enemessar, king of Assyria, tells us that he was purveyor to that king. No one, therefore, could be better qualified to inform us of the relationship of Sennacherib to the king, and his testi-

mony goes directly to the point. For he tells us that, "when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib, his son, reigned in his stead." If, then, Enemessar was father to Sennacherib, Sargon and Enemessar were one. For Sennacherib, unquestionably, was the son of Sargon.

And now we can understand the expression of Abydenus, who, when speaking of Sennacherib, observes that he was the twenty-fifth king of Assyria, and yet "scarcely to be reckoned amongst the kings." Though nominally seated on the throne as early as the year B.C. 702, two unimportant campaigns form the only record of the thirteen first years of his reign; while the burthen and the glory of the kingdom during that time seems to have been sustained by the energy of his father Shalmanezer. Copy No. 1 of the Canon, as before observed, does not even recognise Sennacherib as holding office till the nineteenth year of his association with his father, leaving but six years for his sole occupation of the throne; and during those few years the greatness of the empire seems much to have suffered. From one who was inmate in his father's palace,<sup>1</sup> we learn, that when he came to the throne on the death of his father Enemessar, "his estate was troubled," so that the writer "could not go into Media;" and from Josephus<sup>2</sup> we learn that in the reign of Sennacherib, that is in the year B.C. 688, as we have elsewhere shown, the Medes shook off the yoke of Assyria, and set up for themselves kingly government. Of these adverse events nothing, of course, is recorded in the annals of the king. The campaigns against Tyre, and Cyprus, and Samaria, conducted by Shalmanezer, must have taken place while Sennacherib was quietly taking his ease in his palace at Nineveh; and even when in his fourteenth year he roused himself to take part in six successive campaigns, so flatteringly described by his annalist, we know that from one of them at least he must have returned in disgrace to Assyria, having lost the greatest portion of his army in the disastrous expedition against Palestine and Egypt. His devotional tendencies and inactive disposition seem to have been known even to the Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Tobit, i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Ant. x. ii.



prophet, who, when foretelling the impending destruction of Samaria by the sword of the warlike Shalmanezzer, selects from the anticipated spoils of the campaign the golden calf of Bethaven, or Bethel, the idol of Samaria, as the most appropriate and acceptable present for king Jareb in Assyria, who at the same time is by no means referred to as about to take part in the hazards of the campaign. Building and architecture seems to have occupied much of his attention, and we find Sennacherib represented in the sculptures seated in a chair superintending the operations connected with the building of his palace. His inactive and devout disposition, however, whether proceeding from indolence or infirmity, was ill calculated to command the obedience of his subjects in the tumultuous times upon which he had fallen; and accordingly after losing the province of Media, and after another serious revolt of the province of Babylon, ending after many years by the accession of the warlike Esarhaddon to the throne—whether in revolt or in support of his father we are not informed—we find his two sons Adrammelec and Sharezer conspiring against him, and watching their opportunity while the king was worshipping in the house of Nisrock his god, smiting him with the sword, thus terminating ignominiously his short and inglorious reign.

We have now shown by three several instances, drawn from the respective reigns of Tiglathpileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, how the dates of Ussher's chronology are at variance with the Assyrian Canon to the extent of at least twenty-three years in excess, and how, on the other hand, the reckoning of Demetrius is in perfect accordance with the dates of the Canon. We have also shown how the capture of Samaria by Shalmanezzer, which, according to Scripture, must have taken place in the reign of the Assyrian king Jareb, is by the reckoning of Demetrius placed in the reign of Sennacherib, proving again the consistency of that reckoning both with the Canon and Scripture. But if Ussher's chronology must thus be rectified to the extent of twenty-three years between the years B.C. 740 and 680, a similar rectification would appear to be required both in the preceding and succeeding

centuries; and in pointing out how this continuous error is found to exist throughout the times of the Jewish monarchy, we are led to one or two interesting points in history which have formed the subject of much controversy in the present day, and which the proposed rectification of Hebrew chronology seems to set at rest.

We have elsewhere already shown how, according to Polybius and other authorities, the colony of Carthage was founded in the year B.C. 846, and how according to Josephus and the Tyrian annals the foundation of the temple of Jerusalem was laid just one hundred and forty-four years before that date, that is in the year B.C. 990, being twenty-two years lower than the date assigned to that event by Ussher, and in perfect agreement with the reckoning of Demetrius.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the king whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, and who is styled Shalmanezzer II. by Sir Henry Rawlinson, reigned, according to the Assyrian Canon, thirty-four years, from B.C. 856 to 823, and the date of his reign is, as we have said, as securely fixed as any of the early reigns of the Canon of Ptolemy. Now Sir Henry has pointed out that Hazael, king of Damascus, contemporary of Jehu, king of Israel, came to the throne in the fourteenth year of this king's reign, that is in B.C. 843; and Jehu is also represented on the obelisk as having sent tribute to this king. But the accession of Jehu to the throne of Israel is placed by Ussher in the year B.C. 884. There is no means of determining precisely the number of years which the reign of Jehu must be lowered with reference to the reigns of Shalmanezzer and Hazael. But if we adopt the reckoning of Demetrius we shall find that this historian again forms a perfect link between Scripture and the Assyrian Canon.

If we now descend to the year B.C. 610, we fall upon an astronomical controversy, which has lasted now about fifteen years, concerning the true date of the eclipse of Thales. Every one is aware that many important events in ancient history, such as the fall of Nineveh, the rise of the kingdom of Babylon, the marriage of the grandfather of Cyrus king of

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Chron. Inst., vol. ii., part iii., p. 42.

Persia, and especially the death of Necho king of Egypt, soon after the battle of Carchemish, fought in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, cluster round the date of this eclipse, which has generally been placed by modern chronologists in the year B.C. 610. Now the Astronomer Royal we know has proved, in two papers read before the Royal Society, that the ancient date attached to this eclipse by Pliny and others, viz., B.C. 585, is the true date; thus placing all the events connected with it just twenty-five years lower than by the common reckoning, and again in accordance with the reckoning of Demetrius, who places the first of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 582. Dr. Hincks is well aware that his arrangement of Egyptian chronology must fall to the ground if the record of Pliny is confirmed by astronomical reckoning; and we find him therefore vehemently opposed to the Astronomer Royal, and demanding that the lunar tables set forth by Hansen may be tested by the record of certain lunar eclipses of ancient history to which he refers. Mr. Airy, on the other hand, who has tested his theory by reference to the recorded solar eclipses of ancient times, declares that every total solar eclipse is at least fifty times as valuable as any lunar eclipse, and that a total eclipse of the sun is at least ten times as accurate as any other eclipse of the sun when applied as a test of the accuracy of the lunar tables. Here then, again, we find about the same number of years required to be lowered in the sixth century B.C. as we have already found in the eighth and tenth.

Descending again to the fifth century B.C., we fall upon a controversy which is now agitating the minds of many earnest and conscientious writers, viz., the question of the authenticity of the book of Daniel. The writer of this book we are aware professes to have lived in the reign of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, and tells us that he was first minister of that king. Yet not without some show of reason, this book is declared to be a spurious production. For as long as it is beset with the chronology of Ussher, so long shall we search in vain for the great king Darius whom Daniel calls his master; and as for Ahasuerus, we are taught

to believe that the Jews under this title represented not only Cyaxares, which is correct, but also Astyages, Cambyses, and Xerxes, or Artaxerxes. Rosenmüller, one of the most cautious of these writers, accuses the author of this book of confounding the reign of Darius son of Ahasuerus with the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes; while Bunsen and others, finding Greek words in the text, declare that the book of Daniel could not have been written earlier than the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes. Here again if we lower the reckoning of Ussher about twenty-five years all difficulty disappears. For thus, as the reckoning of Demetrius leads us to infer, Darius the master of Daniel becomes Darius the son of Hystaspes; and thus again the record of Josephus, that Ezra's return to Jerusalem was in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and the tradition preserved by Maimonides, that this return was in the thirteenth year of the building of the second temple, is in harmony with the book of Daniel, which informs us that Darius took "the kingdom," whatever that expression may signify, when about the age of sixty-two, that is in the year B.C. 493, and laid the foundation of the second temple in the following year.

Much yet remains to be done in the adjustment of Persian chronology to the altered reckoning. Some materials, however, towards this purpose have already been laid before the Society by Sir Henry Rawlinson. And thus we may hope that the foundation has been laid for a rectification of the whole range of Asiatic chronology for a period of nearly nineteen hundred years before the Christian era; to the honour of the Society which has laid before the world so many new historical facts in Asiatic history, and to the immortal fame of the distinguished member of the Society who has rescued these materials, and especially the precious relic which we have now been considering, literally from the dust.

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ART. VIII.—*On the existing Dictionaries of the Malay Language.*

BY DR. H. N. VAN DER TUUK.

THE purpose of the writer of this paper is, to call the attention of Oriental Scholars to the state of our knowledge of the Malay language, and especially to the dictionaries to which we must have recourse in studying it. An Englishman naturally turns to Marsden, and there can be little doubt that he will find it a valuable help in his labour. But the scholars of Holland, who have continued to study Malay, not only complain that Marsden's Dictionary has become antiquated, but that it cannot be relied on in a number of cases, being occasionally faulty both in the pronunciation which it teaches and in the signification which it attaches to the words. Marsden himself honestly admitted that he did not study the language until after his return to Europe, and that he had compiled his work from vocabularies made by persons who, having studied for merely practical purposes, had collected words without knowing either their orthography or correct pronunciation; hence we find in it a great many words which are never met with by readers of Malay books.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this defect, the work of Marsden has become the basis of the dictionaries published in Holland and Batavia, and Dutch lexicographers have worked upon it without noticing its deficiency, literally copying its gravest errors.

The last dictionary produced in Holland, that of Pijnappel,<sup>2</sup> although its compiler has profited by the latest researches of

<sup>1</sup> As e.g. *brisih*, *bekam*, *sao*, *garanggang*, instead of *bärsih*, *bäkam*, *säoq* (or *sahap*), *garangan*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek, naar het werk van Dr. W. Marsden en andere bronnen bewerkt.* Amsterdam, 1863.



the Dutch in this branch of Oriental philology, is still tainted with the errors which Marsden has fallen into, and is, in fact, built upon Marsden as its groundwork. In addition to this, the work of Pijnappel contains also not only all that Crawford collected from various sources which are not to be depended on, but also many words found in the writings of persons who had no pretension to be learned in the language, and who were unable to catch the true pronunciation of words from the lips of unsophisticated natives.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Pijnappel is not a safe guide for a young student on account of the uncertain spelling<sup>2</sup> which he has adopted, and which is not formed on any consistent principle. I am ready to admit that Crawford's Dictionary, which is now considered in England as the standard dictionary, is more copious than any of its predecessors, as the author says; but I feel compelled to observe that, notwithstanding its superior copiousness, it has made the study of Malay more difficult than it was before its publication, because it is constantly leaving a learner in doubt about the sounds of the language by so many words occurring twice over with various pronunciations.<sup>3</sup> The author, moreover, who does not seem to understand Dutch, has taken no account of what Dutch scholars have written on the subject since Marsden's time. What would an Englishman say of a Dutch work on Ceylon the writer of which was unacquainted with English? Crawford's Dictionary cannot safely be placed in the hands of an early student, as the orthography adopted in it would only lead him into error and make him turn over its pages in vain for many words of frequent occurrence.<sup>4</sup> Mistakes of Marsden's

<sup>1</sup> As for example, تينق (*tenok*) instead of تنق (*tānuh*), *bidāta* for *pidāda*.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *lang*, a kite, is spelt لڠ, but *rat*, tightly, رات; what principle has led the author to use the *alif* in the last word? *kūūt*, is spelt كنيٹ against the common orthography; now will not the student stumble at كويٹ, as it is written by the natives?

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *tāmbun* and *timbun*.

<sup>4</sup> The colourless vowel *ä* (as in *testāment* or *altār*) is represented by Crawford sometimes by *ä*, and another time by *i*, as for instance in *kittor* (a spittoon) instead of *kātor*, and then again by *u*, as in *tudung* for *tādung*.

have of course been reproduced in it, such as *lang* instead of *long* (a coffin), and *charpaley* is still explained to mean "a kind of lizard."

There can be no question that a new Malay Dictionary is urgently needed at the present time. To the compiler of such a work we would suggest that, to avoid the errors into which former lexicographers have fallen, he should be cautious in receiving words from sources which he may have reason to mistrust, and rather leave some words untransliterated, if he never heard them pronounced by natives, however evident their meaning may be to him from their frequent use in Malay compositions. The words adopted from the Arabic and current in Malay should be transliterated according to their Malay sound, as e.g. *hayun pidarain* (an amphibious animal), which is the Arabic حَيٌّ فِي الدَّائِرَيْنِ (living in the two abodes). The peculiar sense in which some of them are used in Malay should also be carefully noticed; the word دَابَّة for instance is not understood by the uneducated Malay as meaning *animal*, but only in the sense of دَابَّةُ الْأَرْضِ (*dābbatu 'lari*), being the name of the beast that will appear before the dawn of Doomsday as one of its premonitory signs.<sup>1</sup>

In order to avoid useless repetition, a Malay Dictionary should be preceded by an outline of the grammar and phonetic system of the language, for easy reference in the work itself: and the deviations in pronunciation and meaning that have taken place in words adopted from other languages should be scrupulously marked.

Several of those words are subjoined which either have found no place in existing dictionaries of the language or have been erroneously transliterated or explained.

<sup>1</sup> In the latest Malay Dictionary published in Holland the Arabic words have been explained only according to their meaning in Arabic; which proceeding may be termed mere luxury, as the Arabic scholar has no occasion for it, and the Malay student is not benefited by it.

أَدَان (udāni, compare wadāni) name of a drug, against intestinal worms, *quisqualis Indica* (Batav. Mangkas. id.).

أَسْ (asā asā) 1st, = *suwāsa*; 2nd, name of a small palatable sea-fish of a glittering appearance (Men.).

عَشُورَا (asūra, Ar.) another name of the month *Muharram* (Men., Jav. *sura*).

أَمْشُو (āmpu)—*tangan*=*ibu-tangan*; —*kāki*=*ibu-kāki* (Men.; Batak *ompu*: grandparent).

أَوْقَم (ūpam, Tamil) *mangūpam*: to polish (a mirror, metal, etc.).

بَاوَن (bāun)=*bāu*: *bāun-bāunan*=*bāu-bāuwan*; *sabāun*=*sabāu*; *mambaūni*=*mahidu*, and often used at the same time with this word (Men.).

بَغَاكَتَق (bingkatak)=*katak* (Men., Dayak *bakatak*).

بَنْكَس (bangkēs) *bēbangkēs*=*bār-sin* (Batav.).

بَلْقَس (Arabic, pronounced *bulkis* or *bulākis*) name of the queen of Shabā; Men.: *puti* (i.e. *putāri*) *balūkis* or *balūkih*.

بَلَنْتَار (bālāntāra, corrupted from the Sansk. *wandantara*) name given to an extensive forest.

بَنْتَق (buntak)=*buntar* (Men.).

بَنْچ (banchi, Tamil *wānchi*) a carpenter's adze.

بُومُ پُتْرَا (būmi-putā, Sansk. *bhūmi-putra*) a native, an aboriginal (Men.).

بِيدَل (bidal)=*دیدل* (Batav.).

تَمَفْت عِبَادَة کافر کتابی (Ar.)=*بیعة* (a place of worship for infidels following prophets acknowledged by the Muslim).

بِیْگَر (bēgar) I. amphibious in appearance, as a masculine looking woman, a hermaphrodite; mixed up (of the brogue of a person speaking a foreign language and blending it with words of his own) (Men.).

II. *bārbegar*: to turn about; said also of people fencing in the native way by skipping about; *bārbegar bēgar*: to wheel about in flying (as a bird); *mambegar*: to make something turn about, e.g. a quid of prepared betel-leaf in the mouth before spitting it out; *mambegāri*: to turn about before an entrance; for instance, as a bashful person does, who dares not enter straightway (Men.).

تَاسَق (tāsak) the juice of the salve plant, or *conysa balsamifera*, squeezed out as a remedy for the wound of circumcision (Men.).

تَرَانَق (tarānak, from تَانَق) = *hidup-hidupan* (Men.).

تَرْغُک (tarungku, Port. *tronco*) prison, the stocks (Mangkas. and Javan. id.).

تَغْغ (tunggang) steep, precipitous as a mountain path, etc.; *urat* —: the chief root of a tree, which enters the ground perpendicularly; *bārsi-tunggang*: to pounce flying with the head downwards, as a bird upon its prey (Men.).

تَلِيدَر (taledor, Port. *traidor*) vagabond (abusive term).

تَم (tam-tam, or tom-tom and tām-

*tam*, from the Jav. *tom*=*tarum*, Malay) a kind of indigo plant (Men.).

تَمْبُونَسُ (*tambonsu*) the intestines (Men., Sund. *tambusu*).

تَنْدَيَ (*tandey*) *manāndey*: to come to look at a girl, to marry her (Men.; perhaps abbreviation of *manandāi*; compare the Batak Dictionary under *tanda*).

تَنْمُكْ (*tānuk*) the tapir (Jav. *sēmuk*).

چَچَڠْ (*chächang*) = *sāpang* (Men., Jav. and Sund. *sēchang*).

چِرَپَالِي (*chārpāley*, Tamil *kirippilēy*) the mongoose, imported from the Indian continent.

چُومْ (*chūmi-chūmī*) = *suntung* (Batav.; Sund. *id.*).

چِينْ بُوْتْ (*china-būta*, purposely corrupted from the Sanskrit *chihni-bhūta*, "being a token or mark," to give it the appearance of a native word, which signifies, literally, a blind *China-man*) the person who is to sleep with a woman, to satisfy legal fiction, and enable her to return to her former husband, after she has been three times legally separated from him; either a trustworthy friend of the husband is chosen for that purpose, or a person with corporeal defects.

دَايَڠْ (*dāing*) dried fish (*Bisaya*: to dry fish or meat; compare *deng* in the Jav. *dengdeng*, and Sund. *de-eng*).

دَانْجَڠْ (*dānching*) *mandānching*: to screech out with a peculiar sound (of the small green parrot of Sumatra); to chink, as small coin (Men.).

دُوبْ (*dōbi*, Hindust. دِهوبِي) a professional washer. Unknown to the natives, the word being imported since the rise of European influence.

دِيدَلْ (, Port. *dedal*) a thimble.

رَبَا (*rāba*) a field destined for cultivation, where the felled wood lies ready for burning (Men.; Batak *roba*).

سَنْتَڠْ (*suntung*) the octopus or ink-fish.

سِينْغَرْ (*singar*) = *sinar* (Men., Mangkas. *singarag*; compare Batak *singgar*).

قَدَادْ (*pādada*, Men.: *pidada*) *sonneratia acid*a; the sourish fruit, for their beautiful shape, made much of in comparisons (Sund. *pidada*, Mangkas. *padada*).

قَرِيْنْ (*pariyan*) a piece of bamboo of a certain size, used to put water or palm wine in (Men.).

كَرْپَيْ (*kārpey*, Men.: *kurāpey*) a cartridge-box made of rattan originally (Mangkas. *kardpe*; compare the Bat. *harpe* = *lākar*, which see).

أَنْقْ الشَّلْبْ = كَرْكِهَاسْ (fox); الْفَرْعْلْ = كَرْكِهَاسْ whelp of a hyæna (Ar. Malay Dictionary).

كُوِيلْ (Tamil *kowil*) an Indian chapel, where the Hindoo rites are observed.

كَرَآڠْ (*garāngan*, Jav.) = *chārpāley* although a native of Java, herpenthed Javanicus; in the fables called *dongeng* it goes at Batavia by the name of *sang garāngan* (Sund. *ganggarangan*).

گَرِیْگِی (garigik) = *pariyan* (Ben-coolen; Bat. *garigit*).

گَنْدَرَنْج (gandarang, the Bugis *gandarang*) a war drum; (Batak *gor-dang* and *dinggërang*, Iloco *gar-dang*).

لِغْسُ (lingsu, Port. *lenço*) handkerchief (Batav.).

لَکَر (lăkar) a pedestal of rattan to put cooking pots upon in order not to spoil the floor (Batak *rohar* and *okar*: a kennel of rattan or matting); *lăkar lăkar*: a small animal looking like a centipede, which owes its name to its resembling, when coiled up, a *lăkar* (Men.; the analogy of the Batak *hărpe-hărpe*, which has the same meaning, and is derived from *hărpe=lăkar*, is striking).

لَلَّ (lălap) = *tidur* (Men.); 1. sound (used of sleeping); 2. to be forfeited (as something pawned; compare the Batak *lolöp*, forfeited; *nop*, forfeited; and *nok*, sleeping of the eyes).

مُحَالِّل (muhallil, Ar.) the legal term for *china-buta*.

مَنْسِ (mānsi-mānsi) = *suntung* (Men.; *mānsi* would be the Men. pronunciation of the Javanese and Batak *mangsi*: ink, from the Sansk. *masi*).

نَاحَات (nāchat, seldom *āchat*) = *pāchat* (Men.).

نَکْمَبِلِي ( , Tamil *nigumbiley* = Sansk. *nikumbhild*) the place where offerings with fire, ghee, etc., are made.

هَرَات (hărat, or *rat*) tightly pulled or drawn.

هَوَم ( , Tamil *omam* = Sansk. *homa*) an offering with fire, ghee, etc.

هَيْدُ (hidu) *mahidu*: to smell, to smell at something (Men.; compare هَيْدُ : nose).

[*Men.* means the Menangkabow dialect, of which a great many words prevail on the East coast, although with a different pronunciation; v.g. هَلَالِج (hălălaj) = *lălaj* is also used in Siak; سُرُو (sûrow) = *mandärsah* is also used in Pasey, etc.]









# Bilingual Legends: Cuneiform & Phœnician; from Clay Tablets in the British Museum.



  
*Tadani* \* *Arha-ik-kirad*



  
*Tadani* \* *Hueia* &c. &c.



  
*Tadani* \* *Hueia* &c. &c.



  
*Tadani* \* *Alab - kh-hazai* ?



  
*Tadani* \* *Shai'-dai-gala*



  
*Tadani* \* *Shai* ?



  
*Shai* \* *Shai* ?







(5) ה(צ)רן  
למסרנג

שערן זיבר  
מלכא על נבירבון  
מן ע יִרְך (V)  
ב(VII)

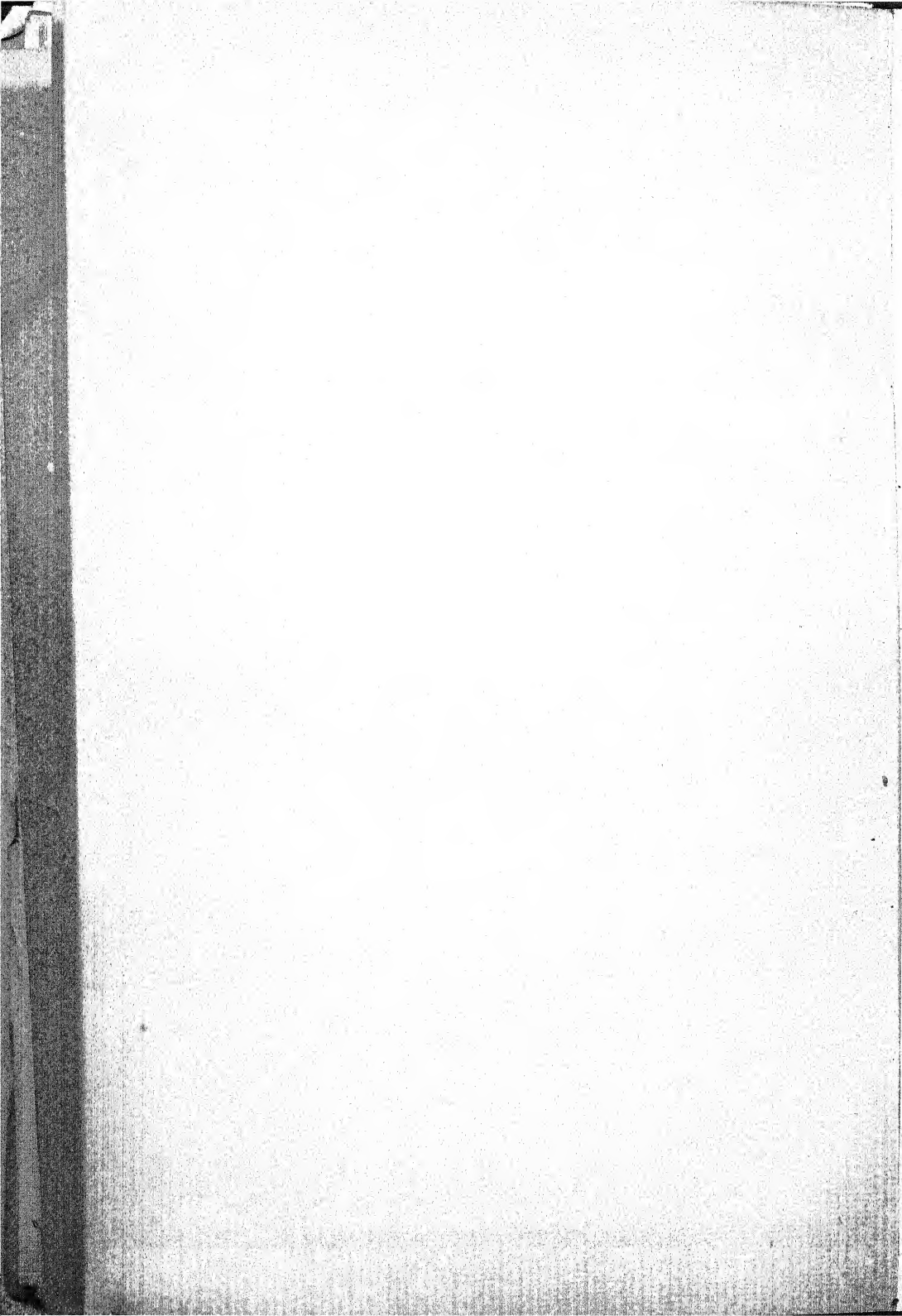
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למסרנג  
למסרנג

שערן זיבר  
מלכא על נבירבון  
מן ע יִרְך (V)  
ב(VII)

שערן זיבר  
מלכא על נבירבון  
מן ע יִרְך (V)  
ב(VII)

17  
שערן זיבר  
מלכא על נבירבון  
מן ע יִרְך (V)  
ב(VII)





ART. IX.—*Bilingual Readings—Cuneiform and Phœnician.*  
*Notes on some Tablets in the British Museum, containing*  
*Bilingual Legends (Assyrian and Phœnician).* BY MAJOR-  
 GENERAL SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., Director R.A.S.

At the last Anniversary Meeting of the Society I announced the discovery among the Assyrian collections in the British Museum of a certain number of clay tablets, bearing legends, both in Assyrian and Phœnician; and I promised at an early period to publish these Bilingual readings in the Society's journal, in order to afford those critics of the late Sir G. Lewis's school, who still disbelieve, or affect to disbelieve, in Cuneiform decipherment, an opportunity of testing the general accuracy of the phonetic system, now accepted amongst Assyrian scholars, by comparing the signs which they suppose to be unknown with those of a known alphabet and language.<sup>1</sup> That promise I now propose to redeem. I have no wish,

<sup>1</sup> The weak point in Cuneiform decipherment, and that which, from its prominence, has especially tended to discredit the science, is the difficulty of reading proper names. Now, I have never attempted to conceal this defect; on the contrary, I have repeatedly explained that as Assyrian proper names are usually composed of the name of a god, represented by an arbitrary monogram, and of one or two other elements, expressed by the primitive Turanian roots, it requires a very large induction, and if possible, collateral illustration, to ascertain how such compounds were pronounced in vernacular Assyrian. I should have been quite content, for my own part, in all such doubtful cases, to have indicated the names by mere signs (*x*, *y*, *z*, and so forth), but this was generally declared inadmissible, and I was obliged, therefore, to propose some reading, guarding myself, however, against the charge of empiricism by a query (?). Of course, as my studies advanced, other readings occurred to me as preferable, and were accordingly substituted, and it thus happens that in my published papers the same name will be sometimes found to exhibit successively three or four different forms; but this is rather an evidence of good faith than of imposture. I candidly confess that I am still in doubt as to the ordinary and vernacular pronunciation of the names of many of the chief divinities of Assyria (such as Cronos or "Belus,"  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \text{III}$ ; "the Water God,"  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } \text{IV}$ ; "the God of the Air,"  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{IV}$ ; the Assyrian Hercules,  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{V}$ , or  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{VI} \text{ } \text{VII}$ ; and "the Great Goddess,"  $\gg \text{I} \text{ } \text{VI} \text{ } \text{III}$ ); and that my proposed readings of the names of kings in which these elements occur, are therefore in no way to be depended on; but this uncertainty does not in the least affect the authenticity of the translation of historical inscriptions, which are written for the most part phonetically, and the grammar of which can be analyzed with as much confidence as any portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. It can hardly, indeed, be necessary for me to vindicate at any length the preliminary stages

at the same time, to exaggerate the importance of this discovery. In reality, the so-called Phœnician key has added but very little to our knowledge either of the Assyrian alphabet or language, and I cannot, therefore, regard it as of any essential value. Nevertheless, its practical utility in meeting a specious argument of the sceptics is obvious, and I recommend it, accordingly, to their serious consideration.

Among the multitudinous clay tablets in the British Museum, brought from the ruins of Nineveh, where, as it is well known, they were found among the "debris" of what was formerly the Record Office of the Assyrian kings, there are a considerable number which represent legal documents. These documents relate to all the varied transactions of the social life of the Assyrians, and are precisely of the same character as the deeds of which copies would be found in the Registry Office of any Mahomedan *Mehkemeh*. It seems, indeed, to have been anciently the practice, as at present, for parties who were engaged in the every-day dealings of life, whether of sale, or barter, or exchange, or lease, or loan, or gift, or dedication, or similar matters of business, to repair to the law-officer of the locality, before whom they recited their terms of bargain, and authenticated the same by their seal or mark, and from whom they received a written and legal recognition of the contract. The inscribed tablets thus executed in the Assyrian Office of Registry, and referring to law business, are of a very peculiar shape, and altogether different from the larger tablets,—found, however, in the same collection,—which refer to general matters, such as history, mythology, geography, astrology, revenue, and statistics, and more particularly to grammar and philology. They are for the most part oblong and flat, but bulging in the middle, rarely exceeding a few inches in length, and very much resembling in shape a modern pincushion. The material of which they are composed is of every variety, from the finest hard-baked clay, resembling Roman "terra-cotta," and as durable as marble, to a soft friable earth, which seems to have hardly undergone any burning process whatever, and which crumbles under the touch. A few of these softer specimens, also, from Assyria are found to exhibit a peculiarity of formation which is common in

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of Cuneiform inquiry, now that "the Institute of France" (as I stated in my letter to the "Athenæum," of August 22, 1863), "the first critical body in the world, has conferred its biennial prize, of 20,000 francs, on Monsieur Oppert, for his Assyrian decipherments, thereby guaranteeing in the face of Europe the authenticity and value of our labours, and putting to shame the "continued scepticism of England."

Chaldæa. They are, in fact, double, or inclosed one within the other, the inner solid tablet, and the outer casing, being both inscribed with the same, or nearly the same, legend.







I shall examine later the legal formula under which the conveyance of property was executed in Assyria, as evidenced in these tablets, and shall also notice the curious substitution in some instances of nail-marks for seal-impressions, to authenticate the transfer; but I must first exhaust the subject of the bilingual readings.<sup>2</sup>

A certain number, then, of these "Registry" tablets, in addition to the Cuneiform text, which covers both their sides, bear also upon the margin a "docket" in Phœnician characters, which in most cases was evidently inscribed while the clay was yet soft, and thus formed part of the original document, but which occasionally seems to have been scratched on the hard pottery by the Record Keeper at a later period, for the mere convenience of reference. The docket, as might be supposed, usually describes the nature of the deed, but sometimes it merely gives the name of the party disposing of his property. Unfortunately, in hardly a single instance are the two legends—the Phœnician docket, that is, and the corresponding expression in the Cuneiform text, clear and complete throughout. Sometimes the Phœnician letters, having been merely scratched on the hard surface of the baked tablet, are so faint that it is impossible to trace them with any certainty. Sometimes the Cuneiform letters are partially obliterated by time or friction. Again, it is often a matter of great difficulty to identify the Cuneiform words which answer to the Phœnician dockets; and lastly, where the identification is established, we are not unfrequently disappointed of a full comparison owing to the mutilated condition of the tablets. Still, with all these drawbacks, there are a few well determined bilingual readings, and these I now propose to consider in due order, referring the reader to the annexed plates, 1, 2, 3, & 4, for fac-similes of the Phœnician legends, and making use of the corresponding Hebrew letters in explaining the meaning of the dockets.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The contents of the legal tablets of Assyria and Babylonia will form the subject of a second paper, which I propose to publish in the next volume of the Society's Journal. I have succeeded in copying and deciphering about 100 of these documents, and have thus obtained materials for a very extensive comparison and analysis.





















<sup>3</sup> After completing my examination of these bilingual legends, I obtained access to Dr. Levy's "*Phœnizische Studien*," and found that a certain number of the Museum tablets upon which I had been engaged had already passed through his hands. As my readings, however, of the Phœnician legends, in

## I.

This tablet is a favourable specimen of the class ; it is quite perfect, and the Cuneiform writing is legible throughout. It registers, with the usual formalities of transfer, the sale of a slave girl named      , *Arba-il-Khirat*, the seller being a certain *Bil-akhisu*, son of *Merodach-abúa*, and the buyer being an officer of the prince's court, named *Kizir-Asshur*. The price paid for this female slave was one "mina" and two-thirds (?) of silver, which is somewhat above the average valuation.

On the margin of the tablet is the Phœnician legend דנת ארבלהר, *danat Arbil-hira*, written evidently with the point of a "stylus," while the clay was yet moist ; and legible with certainty, excepting in regard to a single letter. The "giving up" or "surrender" of property, which constitutes the first condition of a sale, is always represented in these legal documents by some derivative from the Assyrian root *nadan*, "to give," answering to the Hebrew root נתן, which is sometimes used in the same sense (compare Prov. xxxi. 24), and the term *danat*, "gift," or "sale," which occurs in the marginal legend, is the Phœnician equivalent.<sup>4</sup>

every instance but one, differed from his, and as he had left almost untouched the comparative branch of the inquiry, I did not find it necessary to disturb the text of my paper. I shall, however, append a few notes, where his proposed readings seem to require them.









<sup>4</sup> The particular word used is *Tadáni*, which is usually written  , or      , and of which I consider the grammatical condition to be exceedingly obscure. *Primâ facie*, I should take *Tadáni* to be the 3rd pers. sing. fem. of the aorist of *Kal* (like      , *tasatthiri*, "she writes;"      , *tagabbî*, "she says," &c. ; but in the phrases where the word occurs there is no possible feminine nominative. It is not less difficult to explain *Tadáni* as the 2nd pers. sing. of a verb, and I am led, therefore,—notwithstanding its strange appearance, and the somewhat forced construction that such an explanation involves,—to suggest that it may be a verbal noun, thus corresponding with *danat*, both in derivation and in condition. The regular formula, as observed in this contract (and in all others of the same class), commences as follows, "The seal of *Bel-akhisu*, son of *Merodach-abua*, ownership of a woman surrenders" (or "thou dost surrender" *tadáni*).















(Impression of his seal, three times repeated) :—







"(Namely) the woman *Arba-il-Khirat*, the female slave of *Bel-akhisu*, "and becomes (the owner) *Kizir-Asshur*, chamberlain of the king's son. For  $1\frac{2}{3}$  mans of silver from *Bel-akhisu* he takes her, &c., &c., &c."




The peculiarities both of orthography and construction in these declarations of contract will be fully analyzed in the second part of this paper, and I hope, also, to be able to publish the original inscriptions, or at any rate selected specimens of each class, in a future volume of the British Museum Cuneiform texts.
























With regard to the exact reading of the name of the slave girl, whose sale is here registered, there is some difficulty, owing to the doubtful form of the fifth Phœnician letter, and the polyphone value of its Cuneiform correspondent. The term   is well known from many examples to signify "a woman," or "wife" (Comp. Black Obelisk Ins. face A, line 12; Michaux's Stone, col. 4, l. 5, &c., &c.); but the pronunciation of the word might be *khiat*, or *zirat*, or *thirat*, according as we gave to the letter  its normal power of *khi*, or adopted one of its secondary values, *zi* or *thi*, the former occurring in the names of Rezin and Tiglath-Pileser<sup>5</sup> (and in derivatives from צִלָּת, צִפְּה, &c.), and the latter in the oblique case of Ararat,<sup>6</sup> in derivatives from the root אֶרְרָא, and in the common form    , *akthirib*, "I approached." It adds also considerably to our difficulty that both *zirat* and *thirat* might be etymologically explained as applying to "a woman,"<sup>7</sup> and that the Phœnician letter, again, which answers to  in the word in question, might be compared both with the Numismatic *Tsadé* צ (see Gesenius Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. pl. 3), and with the Palmyrene or Parthian *Daleth*, ד.<sup>8</sup> On a fair review,






<sup>5</sup> In the Cuneiform       , for רִזִּין, the  answers to צ, but in the last element of the name of Tiglath Pileser, where       is the name of the famous Temple of Hercules at Nimrud, the Hebrew correspondent is ד.












<sup>6</sup> The name of Ararat is given in the inscriptions as *Urarthu* in the nominative, *Urartha* in the accusative, and *Urarthi* in the oblique case; the Cuneiform dentals being  or  (which are used almost indifferently), for the first;  (which represents *tha* as well as *da*), for the second, and  or  for the third, thus conclusively proving that  is sometimes used for ד, *thi*, the Hebrew orthography being אֶרְרָא.


<sup>7</sup> That is, supposing the  to answer to צ, as in the name of Rezin, *zirat* might be included among that large class of Assyrian terms, written indifferently with the  and , which are connected with the root צָרָה or צָרַח, "to be high," and which have throughout an honorary signification; though perhaps that sense is hardly in unison with the Eastern estimate of woman. *Thirat*, also, as a name for a young woman, might be compared with the Hebrew טַרְיָה, "fresh, new."




<sup>8</sup> I observe that Dr. Levy, who seems to have inspected the tablet I am now considering, reads the doubtful Phœnician letter answering to , as ד; (See Phœnizische Studien, part ii. p. 23); but he has certainly not at all

however, of all the evidence, I prefer reading  - as *khirat*, and its Phœnician correspondent as , *Hira*;<sup>9</sup> comparing the noun either with the Hebrew , which signifies "a pregnant woman," or, as is more probable, with the common word , which, although now unknown to the Arabic in that sense, must certainly be of Semitic origin, and which is still used as the ordinary term for "a woman" in Turkey, in Persia, and in India. The chief reason which I have for this reading is, that I find in the vocabularies relating to "women"    *khiriú* connected with    *khairu*, as    *asshatu*, in the same sense (, is with   *isslu*. If the Hebrew , "to conceive," be the root from which this noun is derived, the Phœnician orthography which uses the soft instead of the hard guttural will be more correct than the Cuneiform, and the lapse of the feminine ending also in the nominative case is quite in consonance with the popular pronunciation. I think it more probable, however, that *khirat* is the same as , from whatever root that term may be derived,<sup>10</sup> and that the Phœnician *hira* may thus mark the passage of the hard guttural to the .

The other element of the name in question,  , in Assyrian, and , or , in Phœnician, is the famous city of Arbela. This name is always represented in Assyrian by two signs, the first, , being composed of four elements, and thus having the power of *arba*, which signifies "four" in all the Semitic

reproduced the form of the character as seen upon the tablet. I also remark that he gives the first word of the legend as , *rakat*, instead of , *danat*; the latter reading, however, is undoubted. I know not from what source he obtained his reading of *rak arrabil Assar* for the corresponding Assyrian     (-), but no Cuneiform scholar will, I venture to say, support that reading—although the letters certainly have the powers assigned to them—against my explanation of , determinative of woman, and unpronounced,  , name of the town of Arbil, and , part of "*Khirat*," "a wife or woman."

<sup>9</sup> Compare the two last variants given for the , in Gesenius's *Mon. Phœn.* vol. ii. pl. 1, which resemble, at any rate, if they are not identical with, the form upon the tablet.

<sup>10</sup>  may be supposed to come from the root , "to be naked," whence the Hebrew has , "*pudenda*," but it is not used in the sense of "a woman" either in Hebrew, or Aramaic, or Arabic.

tongues,<sup>11</sup> and the second being the well known sign  $\gg\gamma$ , which represents a god, and is thus pronounced *Il*, or *Ilu* (comp. אֱלֹהִים, &c., &c.);<sup>12</sup> but in the famous Behistun Inscription, l. 63, we have the full phonetic reading of  $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gamma\rangle \gg\gamma \langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gamma\rangle \gg\gamma\gamma$ , *Arba-hil*. The derivation is doubtful. The name *Arba-il* would seem *primâ facie* to mean "the four gods," in allusion to the supreme triad and "the Great Mother," who are usually associated in the Assyrian Pantheon; but this is not altogether satisfactory, as in the first place the noun  $\gg\gamma$ , *Il*, is not in the plural number, and in the second place there is no evidence that "the four gods" were ever worshipped at Arbela, or were in any way connected with the place.<sup>13</sup>

More probably, then, *Arba-il* means "the ambush (or 'shrine') of the God," from the root אַרַב, "to lie in wait," which may have been also represented by the Cuneiform  $\gg\gamma$ , from its identity of sound with the numeral "four." Another doubtful point is, which of the two goddesses, "the great mother, Beltis," or "*Ishtar*," the Assyrian Venus, may be indicated by this title of "the woman of Arbela," here used as a proper name; for although the former goddess, who is usually designated by the figure 15 ( $\langle\gamma\gamma\rangle$ ), (or by its synonym  $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ , *ri*), and who is often called "the Mother of the Gods," is clearly distinguished in every other position from the latter goddess, *Ishtar*, ( $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gg\gamma\gamma\rangle$  or  $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gamma\rangle$ );

<sup>11</sup> Compare Heb. אַרְבַּע; Arabic أَرْبَع. When the word is written phonetically the Cuneiform usually employs an aspirate,  $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gg\gamma\gamma\rangle$ , to represent the final *y*.

<sup>12</sup> *Il* or *Ilu* is the Semitic value of  $\gg\gamma$ , "a god" (compare Ἰλῶς of Sanchoniathon), for which, however, *Yahu* is sometimes substituted, as in Hebrew. In the other dialects which prevailed in Babylonia, and which thus gave secondary powers to the Assyrian characters, a god was named *anap* (whence the ordinary power of *an* for the letter  $\gg\gamma$ ); or *Thingir*,  $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gg\gamma\gamma\rangle$   $\gg\gamma\gamma\gamma$   $\gg\gamma\gamma\gamma$ , identical with the Turkish *tengri*, and the primitive Accadian term, though subsequently corrupted to *thimîr*,  $\langle\gamma\rightarrow\gamma\gg\gamma\gamma\rangle$   $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ ; also *khilip*, the affinities of which I cannot trace, and perhaps *nin*, and some others.

<sup>13</sup> Mons. Oppert gives the meaning of "the four gods" as if it were certain, but does not attempt to explain such an etymology (See "Expedition en Mésopotamie," p. 226), and his authority, therefore, cannot have much weight.


still, in reference to this particular deity, who had special shrines at Nineveh and at Arbela, under the kings Esar-Haddon and *Asshur-bani-pal*, the names seem to be all used indiscriminately; unless, indeed, it be allowable to suppose that each of the goddesses, Beltis and Venus, had special shrines both at Nineveh and Arbela, and in that case it is manifestly impossible to say which of the two may be "the Lady of Arbela," *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.<sup>14</sup>


<sup>14</sup> Dr. Hincks has stated (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. xxviii. p. 406) that the mother of the gods, or Rhea, was especially "known as the goddess " of Arbela, being thus distinguished from Istar, who was emphatically 'the " goddess,' 'the lady,' who presided over Nineveh;" but he has brought forward no authority to confirm his statement, and my own reading leads to a very different conclusion. In fact, if Dr. Hincks will refer to the invocation passage at the commencement of the long inscription of Esar-Haddon (Rawlinson *Insc.* pl. 45, col. 1, ls. 5 and 6), he will find the goddess  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$  named in connexion both with Nineveh and Arbil, while in the last division of the same inscription, the king's tutelary deity, associated with Asshur, is named both  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$  and  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$   $\gg\text{I}$ . The inscription, too, pl. 8, No. 2, which especially commemorates the repairing of the building at Arbela, refers to the presiding goddess under her two names of  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$  and  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ , while the Nineveh goddess, in Layard's *Inscriptions*, pl. 82, is named  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$   $\gg\text{I}$  and  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$  (and in other copies of the same inscription  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ ), in exact opposition to Dr. Hincks's theory.

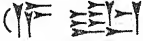

Again, in the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*, and especially in the legal tablets which I am now considering, the four names of  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ ,  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ ,  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$   $\gg\text{I}$ , and  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ , appear to be used indiscriminately, and to apply to a goddess who was the presiding deity equally of Nineveh and of Arbela. At the same time, in a list which I possess of the gods and goddesses as worshipped in the different cities of Babylonia and Assyria, I find Beltis, or Rhea, under her ordinary form of  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$   $\gg\text{I}$ , alone given to Nineveh and Arbela, and I am rather inclined, therefore, to think, that where the name *Ishtar*, under whatever form, is used in reference to the presiding Assyrian goddess, it does not indicate Venus or Nanaia, as in other passages, but simply means "the goddess" *par excellence*, *Ishtar*, like *עֲשֵׁתָרָה* in Scripture, having sometimes a generic, as well as a special application. The difficulty of identifying the goddesses worshipped at Nineveh and Arbela—or rather of distinguishing between the names of Beltis and *Ishtar*, in reference to this deity—was stated by me at some length in my "Essay on the Assyrian and Babylonian Mythology," written in 1857 (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 605 and 636); and in the same paper I also drew attention to the similarity of the Assyrian *Ishtar* to the *Péa* of the Greeks, an identification which Dr. Hincks has nevertheless attributed to Mr. Fox Talbot, though that gentleman's first notice of it must have appeared several years later. I may here add that the Babylonian *Ishtar*,  $\gg\text{I}$   $\ll\text{W}$ , whether it be or be not connected with Rhea, is shown by the bilingual vocabularies to be absolutely the same as  $\ll\text{W}$ , and to signify the number 15, belonging

With regard to the city of Arbela, from which the name was derived, we have more precise information. This city was probably one of the earliest founded in Assyria, for *Xáλαος* and *Ἀράβηλος* are placed by Abydenus among the progenitors of Ninus, in deference, as it would seem, to some early tradition that Calah and Arbil were older cities than Nineveh.<sup>15</sup> The Talmudists, indeed, had a fable that the Patriarch Seth was buried at Arbela,<sup>16</sup> and the place seems to have preserved its sepulchral, or funereal, character, through the whole period of its history; for we find it constantly selected by the Assyrian kings as the scene of execution of distinguished captives,<sup>17</sup> and in a later age the Parthian monarchs are

probably to the same system of notation which employed *Ré* for 20, *Rag* for 30, *Raz* for 100, &c. (see *Zend Avesta*, tom. ii. p. 523); though why "the great goddess," who had no apparent connexion with the full moon, should have been thus typified, I cannot venture to conjecture.

<sup>15</sup> Arbelus is twice mentioned in the mythic genealogy of Ninus, preserved by Abydenus, as if there was both an older and a later city of Arbil. The other names occurring in this list, which probably comes originally from Berosus, are also suggestive. *Anebus* must be, I think, the Median *Anab*, "a god," and the name of Babius, who was the immediate descendant of Belus, would seem to allude to the same myth of "the gate (of life)," which originated the name of Derecto, or Atargatis (תרעת, from תרע, "a gate"), and which was perpetuated in the name of that goddess's dwelling place, . *Din-tir* ("Life's gate?"), or *Bab-il*, "the gate of god," or Babylon. For the extract from Abydenus, see Aucher's Eusebius, vol. i. p. 78, and Mos. Chor. lib. i. cap. 4.

<sup>16</sup> I gather this from Schindler's Pentaglot, col. 144; but I have not found the passage in any Talmudic tract. At present the tomb of Seth is to be seen in the town of Mosul, and the veneration with which the spot is regarded is due, no doubt, to the influence of the Sabæan school of northern Mesopotamia, which adopted from the early Christians so many of the Hebrew patriarchs, and paid a special respect to Seth, as the inventor of astrology and letters (see Renan's Nabathean Agriculture, Eng. edit. p. 53); but it is possible that the name, or one nearly similar, may have been known in the country from the very remotest antiquity, for the earliest form under which the god *Asshur* is named in the inscriptions (see Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 6, No. 1) is  which we are authorized by the Syllabary, No. 145, to read

as *Ashit* () being equal to , a very close approximation to the *Ishitha*, ايشيثا, of the Sabæans; and as the same orthography is also given in the vocabularies as a variant for the country of Assyria, we may thus perhaps arrive at the origin of אסטון, *Astum*, which is substituted for אשור in the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch (see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 588).

<sup>17</sup> The first mention of an execution at Arbela occurs in the annals of *Asshur-izzir-pal* (Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 18, l. 68), where, however, in the translation furnished to Layard by Dr. Hincks, the name of Babel is strangely enough substituted (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 353). In the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal* there are several similar notices, and finally, in the fourteenth para-





old Assyrian mound, to commemorate his victory,<sup>21</sup> a circumstance which probably caused the city to be called Alexandriana, under the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.<sup>22</sup> The great mound of Arbela must have been a kindred work to those other artificial constructions at Koyunjik and Nimrud, though perhaps of larger dimensions. It exhibits at the present day,—as far, at any rate, as concerns the height of the mound, the steep slope, and the well preserved continuous crest,—very much the appearance which the platform of the great palace of Nineveh must have presented in the age of Sennacherib; and it is hardly to be doubted that whenever the Turkish fort which now crowns the acclivity shall be removed, and facilities shall be thus afforded for running trenches and galleries into the mound, a harvest of antiquities will reward the excavator, fully equal to the treasures of Koyunjik and Nimrud.<sup>23</sup>

The name of Arbela seems to have been a very favourite element in Assyrian names, for besides the present name of *Arba-il-khîrat*, we have upon other tablets :—

𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫, *Mannuki-Arba-il*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫, *Arba-ilai*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫, *Paqa-ana-Arba-il*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫, *Vapaqa-ana-Arba-il*, &c.




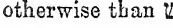


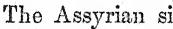
It need only further be stated, that the Phœnician legend on this tablet is evidently of the same age as the Cuneiform writing, and that it may be positively assigned, therefore, to the middle of the seventh century B.C., the document being dated from the Eponymy of 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎶 𐎠𐎫, *Sin-shar-uzur*, towards the close of the reign of *Asshur-bani-pal*.


<sup>21</sup> The Mount Nicatorium is joined with Arbela by Strabo (p. 738), as if they were the same place; and indeed, there is nothing in the vicinity deserving of the name of a hill, except the old Assyrian mound. Strabo further calls Arbelus, who founded the city, τοῦ Ἀθρονέως, in which name we may perhaps recognize Esmun or Æsculapius, who was also adopted, like Seth, into the religious system of the Sabæans, and therein plays a most conspicuous part (see Renan's Nabathæan Agriculture, p. 41).





<sup>22</sup> Theophyl. Sim. lib. v. cap. 7, *ad finem*.

<sup>23</sup> Rich estimated the height of the mound at 150 feet, and its diameter at 300 or 400 yards (Rich's Kurdistan, vol. ii. p. 17). He also learnt that an ancient sepulchre had been opened in the mound shortly before his visit, which contained a body evidently from the description similar to those since discovered at Koyunjik. On several occasions I have searched for bricks and objects of antiquity, on the slope of the mound, but have been unsuccessful in finding anything, as the place is densely inhabited, and anything, therefore, which is exposed to view is instantly carried off.



the other male slaves who were sold with Hoshca, or whether it does not rather correspond with the *résumé* in the Cuneiform text, , "In all; seven persons' slaves, belonging to *Arad-Asha*." After much hesitation, I have decided in favour of the latter application, though it involves many difficulties, and obliges me to leave the beginning of the second Phœnician line entirely unexplained. The initial character, indeed, of this line cannot be identified with any certainty; and the fifth character, also, is of very unusual form. Perhaps the illegible letters at the beginning of line 2 may form a word meaning "&c.," or "and the others;" then , a *n*, may be a contraction for *abadan* or *ardan* "slaves;" the fifth character, which is not, I think, alphabetic, may be an arbitrary sign for "in all," answering to the Cuneiform , and the two following characters may be numerals for 7; the first of them being very like the Palmyrene 5,<sup>26</sup> and the double stroke being the regular Phœnician sign for 2. All this, however, is exceedingly doubtful. The only points which can be considered to be even approximately determined are the division of the words by a sort of point or dot, and the identification of the numerals for VII. The two last words of the line are less uncertain; they can hardly be read otherwise than , the *zi* being the ordinary Phœnician relative cognate with the Hebrew זֶה, Chaldee ܙܝ, and Arabic الذي,<sup>27</sup> and  being, as I conjecture, the Phœnician equivalent of . This latter reading, however, involves some very obscure matters, and must be examined more in detail. The Assyrian sign , which forms the first element of the name, and which signifies "a slave," is proved by numerous exam-

<sup>23</sup> See Gesen. Mon. Phœn. vol. i. p. 88. Another instance will be found in No. 16 of this series, of the employment, apparently, of a Phœnician  for the numeral 5, though no doubt the ordinary method of expressing that number was by five perpendicular strokes.

27 יי, although not recognized by Gesenius, is of very common occurrence in early Phœnician legends, such as those on the lion weights, upon cylinders and seals of the Assyrian period, and upon these clay tablets; and there is every reason to believe, from its employment, that the pronoun, which was originally demonstrative, must have been identical with the noun of attribution. In the Proto-Babylonian the sign  is thus used both as a determinative of quality, and for the relative pronoun; and in Arabic (and especially in the old Himyaric) there is the same connection between  "a lord,"  "this," and the relative .

ples to have had the phonetic value of *ardu*.<sup>28</sup> Its Semitic relationship is not apparent, unless, indeed, it be derived from the root ררה, "to tread upon," but it must have been very extensively employed in Assyrian nomenclature, and it is exactly represented by the Phœnician ארר.

The phonetic reading of the second element, >>Y <W, which was one of the names of "the Great Goddess" who presided over Nineveh, is a more difficult matter, and has long been, in fact, one of the most important, as well as the most hopeless, of the desiderata of Cuneiform decipherment. I cannot say, indeed, even now, that the problem is definitively solved, for although we have three names in which this element occurs, represented in Phœnician as well as in Cuneiform, there is unfortunately some weak point in each of the three examples. Here the Phœnician character—the last in the line—which should answer to the name of the goddess, is imperfect, and although I do not think it can be anything but a *shin*, ש, still I cannot be quite certain of the fact. If I am right, however, in reading אררש as the equivalent of Y >>Y >>Y <W, then it follows that we must consider "the Great Goddess" to have had in Assyria the vernacular title of אשה, *Asha* or *Ashat*, "the woman," *par excellence*;<sup>29</sup> and in this view we may go on, perhaps, to explain the title of 'Aḏā, which Hesychius gives to the

<sup>28</sup> That >>Y signified "a slave," and was pronounced *ardu* (or in composition *arad*), there is no doubt whatever; but the employment of the monogram in the compound epithet <E >>Y, which was a title frequently assumed by the Assyrian kings, and especially in reference to Babylonia, is not quite so easily explained. I believe, however, that it means "reducing to slavery," or "putting on the yoke of slavery," though I cannot give with any certainty its phonetic equivalent. (Compare the Khursabad passages, pl. 152, 3, 12, with 95, 6, and also 145, 3, 12; 151, 10, 9, and 123, 16).

I would also suggest that the biblical name of ארדמלך, applied to a son of Sennacherib's, which has positively no meaning in Assyrian, is an error of the copyist for ארדמלך, *Ardu-malik* (equivalent to the Hebrew *Ebed-Melek*, "servant of the king"); but it is singular that we have not more examples from the Greek and Hebrew of the employment of the word *ardu* in Assyrian names.

<sup>29</sup> The Assyrian phonetic term for "a woman," > >>Y >>Y, is not, however, as far as I have observed, ever applied as a name to the goddess in question, nor is its Proto-Chaldean equivalent, <E >>Y (pronounced *dam*; compare *dame*, &c.) ever used in connection with the great goddess, except to express her relationship to >>Y <X.



Babylonian Juno,<sup>30</sup> by 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the Chaldee equivalent of אִשָּׁה. I have no confirmation, it is true, of this phonetic reading of *Asha* or *Ashat*, for the Assyrian "Mother of the Gods," from any Greek or Biblical name, nor does such a reading explain in any way the goddess's titles of 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶; but, on the other hand, there are, as will presently be seen, two more independent bilingual readings which give the same result, and it is further evident that a name signifying "the woman" would be sufficiently appropriate, more especially when the standard title by which she is known, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, may be also shown to mean "*the lady*."<sup>31</sup> It would have been more regular, of course, had the Phœnician name been written with an aleph, 𐎶, so as to distinguish between the two elements composing it, *arad*, "a slave," and *Asha*, "Beltis;" but many similar contractions and omissions will be observed as we proceed with our analysis, and in the present case there was positively no room on the tablet for an extra letter.

I will now consider the alternative reading which would recognise the names of the other two male slaves in these obscure Phœnician characters. The blank space at the end of the first line contained probably the mere point of division, and the two signs which commence the second line may, thus, perhaps have been intended for the name of *Siga*, or *Sigu*, contracted from the Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Sigabá*, or *Sigvá*, and derived either from 𐎶𐎶, "to be high," or 𐎶𐎶, "to be great." This assimilation, though not wholly satisfactory, might perhaps be accepted, but the difficulty in regard to the second word is, I fear, insurmountable. The Cuneiform name which follows that of *Sigabá* is composed of

<sup>30</sup> 'Ađá . . . ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ἡ Ἥρα, Hesych. in Vore.










<sup>31</sup> Dr. Hincks, in one of his recent papers (Journal of Sac. Lit. No. xxviii. p. 405), has hazarded the bold hypothesis that 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is to be pronounced *Binhit-ghiti*, and that it signifies "the lady of blood (or slaughter)." Now, a very slight acquaintance with the Proto-Chaldean language, to which all these divine names belong, is sufficient to show that 𐎶𐎶 (pronounced *gé*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, see Syllabary, No. 366) is a mere grammatical suffix, used apparently like the terminal guttural of the Basque, and that 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, therefore, however they may have been pronounced in Assyrian, signify probably "*the Lord*," and "*the Lady*." Dr. Hincks has also suggested in the same place that the god *Bil-zirbu* is identical with 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, but there is not the least authority for this. On the contrary, *Bil-zirbu* is a God very little known, and only worshipped, as far as I have seen, in the Arabian district of *Buz*.




two elements, namely, the God  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ , and the verbal adjunct  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ . Now it is very possible, and even probable, that the signs  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$  do really represent the name of the God *Anu*; for although such an epithet is not found in any list of synonyms for this deity, still I think we may read the signs as *Huras*,<sup>32</sup> and this is actually the pronunciation given repeatedly in the bilingual vocabularies to the sign  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ , which seems to have been one of the epithets by which *Anu* was distinguished. It remains then to consider the second element  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ , and here I am bound to admit the comparison altogether fails us. These two signs, when considered as ideographs, mean probably "the stone which appoints," and are thus used for "a seal," which in the language of Assyria was named *kanuk*;<sup>33</sup> but the same signs









<sup>32</sup> That is, the sign  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ , in its signification of "a lord," interchanges frequently with  $\text{𐎶}$ , which again appears to be the same title as  $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶}$ , a term that is often used to indicate royalty in the Proto-Chaldean inscriptions (compare Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 3, No. 9, l. 7; No. 10, l. 12; pl. 5, No. 16, l. 5; and No. 20, l. 3, &c.). One of the possible values of  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  might thus be *hu*; and  $\text{𐎶}$  is well known to be either *ras* or *kas*, the former power being the Turanian equivalent of *kharan*, "a road," and thus standing sometimes for the city of Harran. *Ras* itself would seem to be connected with the Persian  $\text{رَس}$ , *rah*, "a road;" *ras-idan*, "to arrive," &c., &c.









It is doubtful, however, if the title of  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ , which is generally accompanied in the bilingual lists with the gloss of  $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ , apply properly to the god *Anu*, or to Hercules ( $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ ). It occurs in the lists of epithets applying to each of these gods, and even in reference to the city of  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ ,—which was the special seat of the god  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$  (see Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 65, col. 2, l. 46), and which would appear to be the *Dubana* of Behistun (col. 3, l. 78), as its temple is named  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$  in the geographical catalogues—although Hercules, or  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ , is given as the tutelary divinity of the place, the temple which it contained, and which was repaired by Nebuchadnezzar (in loc. cit.), has the title of  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ , where we recognize the name of *Anu*. (This is a mistake. Hercules was the god of Niffer, or  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$   $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ ; but  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$  is alone mentioned as the god of  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ ).




<sup>33</sup>  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  is used with a great variety both of powers and meanings. One of its most common employments, however, is to represent the root  $\text{כנה}$ , "to count or appoint" (see Syllabary, No. 371, for the noun  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ ).

are also constantly found in proper names with phonetic powers, representing the root *tagal*, "to serve," or "be attached to," the three forms of   ,  , and  , being used indifferently,<sup>34</sup> and by no possible manipulation can I torture the three Phœnician signs which in the legend follow  into any word at all resembling in sound *taggal* or *taggil*. If these signs are really alphabetic rather than numerals, they must, it would seem, represent a *Shin*, a *Caph*, and a *Kheth*, and the name would thus read  *Anu-shekah*, instead of *Anu-taggil*.<sup>35</sup> It is, then, the

"counting"), and this appears to me to be the meaning which it conveys, in connection with , "a stone," as applied to a signet seal. Mr. Fox Talbot explains   as "the talking stone," but I know not on what authority.

<sup>34</sup> One of the most perplexing features in Cuneiform writing is the admixture of ideographic and phonetic expression, of which we see an example in this word. The group  , as applied to a seal, is purely ideographic,  being "a stone;" in Assyrian, *abnu*, for , and , as I have already explained, representing perhaps the root *מנה*, "to count;" but both of these characters have, of course, phonetic powers in Turanian, the former being *tak* or *tag* (allied, as I think, to the Turkish *tash* and *tagh*), and the latter sometimes—but very rarely—standing for *gil*. It is therefore possible that a signet seal in Turanian may have been named *tag-gil* (with which I would compare "sigillum," the *t* and *s* interchanging, as is usual in Chaldee and Hebrew), and may thus very properly have been used for the Assyrian root *tagal* or *tagal*, "to serve," although there was another ideograph, , especially assigned to that root, because in some primitive dialect *ku* had the same signification. At any rate, from the variant readings in different copies of the Assyrian canon, there can be no doubt that   in proper names does not indicate "a seal," as Mons. Oppert supposes, giving it the power of "*kounouk*," but that it is used phonetically for the root *tagal* or *tagal*.

I may give another instance of the manner in which the old Turanian powers were sometimes utilized in Assyrian, in the compound ideograph  , for "a palace." In ordinary Assyrian this would be read *Bit rabu*, "the great house," but in Turanian, , "a house," was *hē* (. See Syllabary, No. 364), and , "great," was "*gal*," or "*kal*;" and from these two foreign powers the Assyrians formed the compound , which was adopted as the name for "a palace" by all the Semitic nations, and which was the actual pronunciation, as can be shown by a multitude of examples, given to the compound ideograph  .

<sup>35</sup> If these names of *Sigabá* and *Anu-taggil* could be made out, then, of course, it would be necessary to read the concluding Phœnician words as   , *זי ארדן*, *zi-aradan*, "who were slaves," answering to

impossibility of reconciling these two readings which has decided me in favour of the other explanation, weak and insufficient as it is.

### No. 3.

This is a mere fragment registering the sale of a batch of slaves, one male and two of his female relatives, by a man of the name of *Khudai* to another called *Ninuai*. The name of the male slave, which is alone specified, is unfortunately defective both in the Cuneiform and the Phœnician text, the beginning of the name being lost in the one, and the end in the other. Our list of proper names is now so large, numbering above a thousand, that in most cases we can restore a defective word from other examples with much probability; but I doubt if there is a second mention of this name on any of the tablets. The commencement of the name, it is true, in the Phœnician text, resembles much the month of אֱלֹל, *Elul*, and there are actually two months of the Assyrian Calendar, 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎶, which seem to have been extensively used in the nomenclature of Nineveh, the former, moreover, being the sixth month of the Assyrian Calendar, and thus corresponding in place with the Hebrew *Elul*,<sup>36</sup> but I have never found the second element, *khazzi*, in composition, with either the month 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎶, nor indeed with any other ordinary Assyrian noun, and I cannot venture therefore to give the Cuneiform equivalent of אֱלֹל. With regard also to this second element, it is not quite certain that *khazzi* is the true form. In the Phœnician text a *Kheth*, כ, appears after *Alal*, and in the Cuneiform we have the two concluding letters, 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶, *azzi*; but there is no direct proof that the three letters form one word. If *Alal-khazzi* be, however, the true reading of the slave's name, we must suppose it to be a kindred compound with *Yaku-khazi*, which was the Assyrian orthography

and the whole argument in favour of the name of *Asha*, for 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, would fall to the ground. I do not, however, think it possible that the last Phœnician letter can be a *Nun*, נ.

<sup>36</sup> I shall consider in another place whether the Assyrian year commenced with the vernal or autumnal equinox. Mons. Oppert adopts the former calculation, in opposition to the later Syrian calendar, and he thus without hesitation reads the name of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 as *Iloulai*. This may be correct, but requires confirmation. At any rate, the Iluleus of Tyre can hardly be connected with the month of Elul, since the name is written as 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, in the Sennacherib annals; and it is very doubtful if the Ἰλουλαῖος of the canon of Ptolemy be a genuine orthography.

for the Hebrew  $\text{אליל}$ , the signification being "might of *Alal*," and we must further regard *Alal* (or perhaps *Elul*) as one of the gods of the Assyrian Pantheon, whose title was used generically by the Hebrews for "an idol," and who also, perhaps, gave his name to the sixth month of the Assyrian Calendar.<sup>37</sup>

## No. 4.

The interest of this legend mainly depends on the aid it affords us in identifying the name of the great goddess of Nineveh. The Cuneiform inscription relates to an exchange of property in slaves. Three joint owners of a male slave named  $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , barter him against a female slave named *Tulikhá*, the property of a certain *Zikkullanu*, an officer of the Court, whose dealings are very extensively registered on these tablets. The Phœnician docket is simply  $\text{דנת עשדרקל}$ , *Danat Asha-dur-qál*, "The giving up of *Asha-dur-qávi*." Now if this reading could be depended on, the name of the Goddess  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , who, as has been already explained, is the same with  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , would be no longer subject to any doubt; but unfortunately the Phœnician legend—in this case scratched and not incised—is faint throughout, and the characters which are the least clearly traced are precisely those which are of the most importance, namely, the two composing the first element of the name. I have examined the legend in every possible light, and with the aid of powerful glasses, and I certainly think the two letters—and there cannot be more—are an *Ain*,  $\text{ע}$ , and a *Shin*,  $\text{ש}$ ; but still I cannot be sure; and while the shade of an uncertainty exists, this interesting point of mythological nomenclature must remain open.

If the reading of  $\text{עש}$  were fairly made out, I should not think

<sup>37</sup> The Hebrew word  $\text{אליל}$ , which is used for "idols (Lev. xix. 4, and xxvi. 1), may very well be cognate with  $\text{אללל}$ ; and for neither one nor the other has any satisfactory etymology been yet found. Among the many names for the Assyrian god *Anu*, however, I find one in the mythological lists which seems to belong to the same stock as *Elil* and *Elul*. It is written  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , *Alala*; and the female divinity associated with *Anu*, under this form (for the gods are usually arranged in pairs) is named  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *Tullili*. I also observe in Rawlinson's Ins. pl. xxix. l. 8, that Hercules is named *Allalli Ilin*, which, from the analogy of the Syriac, I conceive to mean "the leader of the gods." The term *Alulah*, in Samaritan, signifies "first-born," or "eldest," and this epithet is particularly applicable to *Anu*.



much of the variation in orthography from the form of אש, which is used in No. 14, and ש in No. 2; for the name, it must be remembered, was foreign to the Phœnicians, and the Assyrians in their pronunciation seem to have hardly distinguished between the *Ain* and the *Aleph*;<sup>38</sup> and there is, moreover, an exactly analogous instance of corruption in the Hebrew עשתרות for the Assyrian 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *Ishtar*.

The second and third elements of the slave's name are clear and certain as to their pronunciation, though some doubt may attach to their meaning. The Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is everywhere in the vocabularies explained by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *Duru*, and there can be no doubt therefore as to its meaning or pronunciation. It is used in geographical names precisely as the Arabic دور, and is applied to any fortress or place of defence, signifying originally, as it would seem, "a circular enclosure," whether for a camp or town.<sup>39</sup> The third element is not so easy of explanation. The Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is very correctly represented by the Phœnician קל, pronounced probably as *qali*, but the meaning is doubtful. As I observe, however, in a nominal roll where the most ordinary Assyrian titles are classified according to their composition and etymology, that the name of *Nabu-dur-qala* is bracketed with *Nabu-dur-irisu*, I conceive they must be of kindred signification, and would propose therefore to compare *qala* with قلعة, "a fort," as 𐎶𐎶𐎶 certainly answers to עיר, the meaning of the respective names in the nominal roll being "Nabu is the defence of the fortress," and "Nabu is the defence of his city." It must be observed, at the same time, that this lapse of the final *Ain* is hardly permissible, and that there are no other examples that I am aware of

<sup>38</sup> Dr. Levy, I observe, in his vocabulary (*Phönizisches Wörterbuch*, p. 8), under the head of אשת, "a woman," gives an example from Gesenius of the variant Phœnician reading of עשת, which is exactly applicable to the present passage.

<sup>39</sup> Mons. Oppert, I believe, to the present day, reads 𐎶𐎶𐎶 as *Hisir*, and Mr. Fox Talbot adheres to the old reading of *Kara*, which Dr. Hincks first suggested when he fancied that the sign answered to the phonetic word 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, in the great Nebuchadnezzar Ins. col. 5, ls. 2, 5, &c. I have, however, at least twenty examples of the reading of *Dur* for the sign in question, and have thus phonetically rendered the character in all my translations for the last ten years. The only doubt I have is whether 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is not sometimes used as a verb as well as a noun, answering, in fact, to the root דור, as well as to the term דור, in which case it might be optionally sounded as *iddur*, *vadur*, &c.

in the inscriptions of the employment of the Arabic قلعة for "a fortress," so that the meaning of "Asha defends the fort," for *Asha-dur-qāli*, can only be received provisionally.

The tablet in question dates from the Eponymy of *Sin-shar-uzur*, about B.C. 650.

## No. 5.

The broken tablet on which this legend is found registers the sale of a field for a *sinab* (or two-thirds of a mina) and four shekels of silver,<sup>39\*</sup> the Cuneiform name of the seller being  $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \text{𒍪}$ , and of the buyer,  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , neither of which names, however, can be rendered phonetically with any certainty. The first line of the Phœnician docket is simply דגת הקל, "the sale of the field," answering to the Cuneiform  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , and the second line ought therefore, as it would seem, to give the name of the owner of the property; but I have quite failed to make out an equivalent reading. The beginning, indeed, of the second Phœnician line is altogether illegible, and the continuation זרדד, *zardd*, bears no resemblance that I can discover to the Cuneiform  $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \text{𒍪}$ .

קל, in the first line, for the Cuneiform  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , is a reading of some interest. I have long been acquainted with the meaning of the term, from having observed that it was used as a substitute for  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , *ziggār*, "land;" but both Monsieur Oppert and Mr. Talbot have misunderstood it, and have sadly disfigured some important passages in consequence.<sup>40</sup> The term  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$  itself is

[<sup>39\*</sup> The identification of the *sinab*, equivalent to two-thirds of the *manah*, is a new discovery. The Assyrian signs indicating this weight are  $\text{𒍪}$  and  $\text{𒍪}$ , both of which are given on the Lion in the Museum Collection, No. 9, where we have also the Phœnician reading of  $\text{𒍪}$ . The Assyrian equivalent of  $\text{𒍪}$  is given in the Syllabary as  $\text{𒍪} \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \rightarrow \text{𒍪} < \text{𒍪}$ , *sinabu*].

<sup>40</sup> There are three very innocent lines in the great Khursabad inscription of Sargon, relating to the means by which the king obtained the lands required for the building of the city, which lines the lively imaginations of Mons. Oppert and Mr. Fox Talbot have converted into the most important historical data, the French savant drawing from them an explanation of the name of *Sargina* (Sargon), while Mr. Talbot thinks they prove the antiquity of coined money.

The translations of these gentlemen are as follows:—

"Car les grands dieux m'ont nommé ainsi (Sarkin), parce que j'ai observé  
"les traités et la foi jurée, parce que j'ai gouverné sans injustice et sans opprimer  
"les faibles. J'ai présenté aux chefs de la ville les constitutions écrites de la  
"cité, d'après les tables de la vérité, gravées sur argent et sur airain. Je leur  
"ai donné ensuite les explications indispensables sur la loi, sans arbitraire, la  
"loi de la justice, la loi qui les dirige dans leurs actions." (Les Inscriptions  
Assyriennes des Sargonides, p. 38).

Turanian, and it is doubtful how it was pronounced; its Assyrian equivalent, however, is everywhere given as 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *egil*, which exactly corresponds with the Chaldee ܥܓܝܠ, and Syrian

The English rendering is:—

“As the great gods have given renown to my name, which is triumphant and victorious, so also have they given to me the government of affairs unconnected with battle and victory. The money of the inhabitants of this city (as with unanimous voice they desired) I renewed, both in silver and copper, in accordance with their prayers. I made coins, but not of gold (which money the people did not wish for), and gave them to the inhabitants, both present and future, to be their own property.” (Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit. vol. vii. part i. page 171.)











Now, there are several words of which I still consider the meaning to be doubtful, but the general sense, commencing from the thirty-ninth line, I take to be as follows:—








(39) *Ana susub alu sasu, zakkur parakki makhî (or ziri) adman*  
In founding this city, a building glorious and exalted, temples  
*ilî rabî va hekali subat bilutiya, varzi va musakbud,*  
of the great gods, and palaces for my royalty, graciously and honourably,  
*azkir-va episu ikbi (40) kima zigar sumiya,*  
I constructed and I made it to be called like the saying of my own name,  
*sha ana nazir gitti va misharîsu, sutesur la*  
which to the dominion of the world (?) and its government (ruling without  
*lîhî la khabal, innimbu-inni Ilî rabî. (41) Kaship*  
violence or oppression), the great gods have blazoned forth for me. The price  
*egilî alu sasu, kî pî duppaté sha aimanusu,*  
of the lands of this city, according to the tablets which secured it (or its title  
*kaspa va zipar, ana bilîsun vatîr-va; (42) assu riggati*  
deeds), (in) silver and copper, to the proprietors of them I returned, and  
*la rusî sha kaship egil la zibî, egil*  
in solid bullion (?) whoever the price of their lands did not wish for, lands  
*mîkhar, egil akhîr panusun addin sumutî.*  
in front or lands in rear, in exchange to them I gave them.





A few notes may perhaps be required. In the first line *susub* is Shaphel of 𐎶𐎵; *zakkur* is evidently connected with the verb *azkir*, which follows, and probably comes from the same root as *vazakkir* in the Birs Nimrud inscription. These terms are also, I think, allied to *ziggur*, the special name of the towers attached to the Assyrian temples, but there is no cognate root with the signification of “building” in any other Semitic language. The honorary epithets 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 formed perhaps the proper name of the tower of *Dur-Sargina*, of which the remains are now to be seen on the mound at Khursabad. The allusion in the first and second line is to the city of *Dur-Sargina* being named after the king; not to any explanation of the king's own name, as Mons. Oppert supposes. The idiom of the gods “blazoning forth” the name of the king to supreme power is common. The parenthetical phrase *sutesur la lîhî, la khabal*, seems to have particular allusion to the justice of the king in purchasing the lands, instead of taking violent possession of them. In the third line (line 41) I am not sure whether the words “silver and copper” refer to the weight of metal given to the proprietors for their lands, or to the material of the tablets on which the title deeds were written, these title deeds being of the same class as the clay tablets and inscribed stones, which we are now discussing. Probably, however, the latter is the true application, as I have never in one single



## No. 6.

This tablet is also imperfect. A fracture of the upper corner has destroyed the names of the parties who executed the deed, and has thus very much curtailed our materials for comparison, while the Phœnician writing also, which extends horizontally along three of the side margins of the tablet, is so faint,—having been merely scratched with the nail apparently while the clay was yet soft,—that the forms of many of the letters cannot be traced with any certainty. A small portion of the legend, however, at the commencement is distinctly legible, and this is not without value. The deed relates to the sale of a slave girl, named *Khambusu*, and her mother, whose name is mutilated, for the sum of one mina and eight shekels of silver. The names of the sellers are lost; that of the purchaser is *Zugu* (meaning probably “a doctor,” and the same name as that of Luke the Evangelist—Compare לִקְחִי, “learned,” and remark that the final guttural of this root always lapses in Assyrian). The Phœnician legend commences with דַּנַּת אַמְתָּא חַבְּסֻּ, *Danat Amtá Khabusu*, “the sale of the female slave *Khabusu*,” &c. *Danat* has been already explained. *Amtá* is, of course, the Aramaic form of אִמָּה, of which the Cuneiform correspondent is  , *Shallat* (?).<sup>42</sup> The only example that I have met with of the employment of the noun אִמָּה in the inscriptions is in the geographical name of *Amti-khadasti*, for the city of Ammo-chosta, or אַמְתִּי חַדְּשֵׁת, in reference, no doubt, to the famous Cyprian goddess;<sup>43</sup> but we have there merely the Cuneiform rendering of a Phœnician title. In the reading of *Khabusu* for the Cuneiform *Khambusu*,        , we observe,

<sup>42</sup> The reading of this word  , as applied to “a female slave,” is very doubtful. It is always used as the feminine to , *ardu*, but I doubt if it ends in *t*, as the suffix attached to it is , instead of . The word *Shallat* is used, I believe, both for “plunder” and for “women,” and there is some difficulty in distinguishing between the two meanings in some passages, but  , for “a female slave,” is quite a different noun, and is in all probability a Turanian compound.

<sup>43</sup> See Rawlinson's *Ins.*, pl. 48, l. 11. It is impossible to say whether the epithet *khadasat*, which is joined with *amat* in this name    , is to be compared with חַדָּשׁ, “new, young,” or קֹדֶשׁ, “holy,” or with חֲדַסָּה, the name originally borne by Queen Esther, and supposed to be the same as חֲדַס, for “the myrtle;” probably, however, the latter explanation is to be preferred, as the myrtle was especially sacred to the Cyprian Venus.



firstly, the lapse of the nasal before the *b*, which is quite in conformity with the genius of the Phœnician language, and secondly, the substitution of the *Shin*, ש, for the *Samech*, ס, of which we have had a previous example in the reading of חושע for חושע = חושע = חושע. The derivation is probably from חבש, "to bind," which is حبس in Arabic with the same change of sibilant as in the Assyrian, and the name is therefore peculiarly appropriate to a slave. It is not safe to attempt any further analysis of the Phœnician text. The names represented should be those of the mother of *Khambusu*, and probably of the parties from whom the two women were purchased; but the letters can be only doubtfully traced, and as we have not the Assyrian originals of any of these names in a complete form, the Phœnician readings, even if they were certain, would possess no great interest. Perhaps in the letters . . . חזנ, near the end of the legend, we may recognise the commencement of the name of the father of one of the sellers, which is represented in Cuneiform by 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 > 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . . . *Khazi* . . . but in no other case can I offer even a conjectural comparison.

## No. 7.

The Phœnician legend on this tablet does not appear to be a docket of the contents, but is rather, as I think, the attestation of one of the witnesses to the document. The only difficult character in the whole legend is the first letter; but I can hardly doubt from other examples that it is intended for a *Shin*, ש, though the form is not usual on these tablets. I read the entire inscription as simply שחת עבדנבו, "the attestation of Abed-Nebo," and propose the following explanation:—שחת is everywhere used in these Phœnician endorsements before the attesting signatures (compare No. 15, where there are two similar examples, and also the Phœnician dockets given by Grotendorf, in the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," vol. ii. p. 177; and by Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. tab. 32, pl. lxxvii. b.); and is thus certainly a substitute for the character 𐎶— on the Assyrian tablets; but the etymology is not equally clear. *Shakhat* would seem to be a feminine noun like *danat* and *biyat*, and I am thus tempted to compare the Arabic صحت, "truth," notwithstanding that the initial letter of that word, which is equal to the Hebrew צ, very rarely answers to the Phœnician *Shin*. In support of this explanation, I further observe that in Syriac, derivatives from this root,

נִסְּ, have a special reference to the signing of a name, and I also recall the fact that in the East at the present day every Mohammedan who attests a document places before his autograph the word صَحَّح "It is true," a custom which has led to the Anglo-Indian vulgarism of *Shy* as equivalent to a signature. On the other hand, there are some grounds for preferring the alternative derivation of *Shakhat*, from שָׁחַד, or شَهِد, "to witness." The meaning of a "witness," in the first place, is more appropriate, as it would seem, than "truth;" again, in the famous copper *Sassanam* from Malabar, the names of all the Mohammedan witnesses are actually preceded by this word شَهِد, and thirdly, the orthography is more in harmony, as the initial sibilants are of the same class, and the hard and soft aspirates, which constitute the only difference, are frequently confounded. The termination, however, offers, as I think, an insurmountable obstacle to this explanation, for the Phœnician terminal 𐤍 cannot under any circumstances represent a radical 𐤍, nor is it allowable to regard שָׁחַת as a contraction of the true Aramaic term שְׁחַדְתָּא, which occurs in Gen. xxxi. 47.

The word which follows שָׁחַת may be certainly read as עֲבַד-נְבֹ, *Abed-Nebo*, "the slave of Nebo," a name which would be represented in Cuneiform by 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, and which is actually borne by one of the witnesses to this particular document, though it may fairly be doubted if the two names, written in Assyrian and Phœnician characters, refer to the same individual.

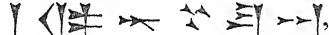







The deed itself relates to the sale of a slave girl named *Guladallat*, by her joint owners, to the same *Zikkullanu* whose dealings have before come under our notice. The price was two-thirds of a mina of silver, and the sale is registered with the usual formalities.






The tablet is dated from *Nabu-shar-usur*, who was Eponyme during the last year of the reign of Sennacherib, answering to B.C. 683.<sup>44</sup>


<sup>44</sup> See *Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 344, pl. 6. Mr. Shakespeare furnished a reading of the Arabic signatures to this document, but no one has, I believe, attempted to decipher the Pehlevi and Hebrew names, which are nevertheless exceedingly curious. The Parsee witnesses must have been the near, if not the immediate, descendants of the first exiles from Persia, as the Pehlevi character which they employ is nearly that of the early Mohammedan coins. The names are preceded by two words, which seem to be

*Mahuru li*, "sealed by," or "the seal of." (Compare Pers. مهر, *mahr*.) The corresponding expression before the Hebrew names is doubtfully read as הַמְכַן מֶן.

## No. 8.

The Phœnician name, clearly incised on this tablet, is to be read with tolerable certainty as *דינכרבן*, *Dainu-kurban*, the last letter, which is alone defective, being restored from the Cuneiform original. This original is written , and applies to a certain householder who sells three tenements in Nineveh for the sum of thirty shekels of silver. The meaning of the name is probably "he who adjudges the offerings," *dainu* being a participle from the root *דין*, "to judge," and *kurban* being identical with the Hebrew *קרבן*, Arab. *قربان*, and Greek *κορβάν* (Mark vii. 11). That the group forming the first element of this name had the phonetic value of *dainu* had long ago been surmised, from the orthography of , employed in the East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. iv. line 29, as an epithet of "the Sun," and in place of the ordinary reading of ; and the Phœnician transcript of the term is, therefore, nothing more than a verification; but I do not even yet clearly understand the reason of this mode of writing. The letter  alone represents the root *דין*, "to judge," being explained in the bilingual syllabary by  (No. 184), and is thus independent of any adjunct. Should such an adjunct be employed, however, it ought to represent, according to ordinary usage, the phonetic complement of the verbal form to which it is attached, and this can hardly be the function performed by , which, amongst its various powers (*sil*, *tar*, *kut*, *khas*, &c.), has no nasal value whatever. I suspect, therefore, that the sign , which, as a root, and especially in the epithets of the gods, is very extensively employed, and in many different senses, is here joined to  merely to qualify, or perhaps intensify, the power of that verb, and without any influence on the pronunciation.<sup>45</sup>

The sign , which precedes the names of the witnesses on the Assyrian tablets, seems to be simply the preposition *pan*, "from," or "of." On the Babylonian tablets the list of witnesses is usually headed by the expression    , which probably means, "the persons putting their names."

<sup>45</sup> The most ordinary use of  is to represent the root *nakas*, "to cut off;" but it also answers to *shámu*, *súqu*, and half-a-dozen other roots,

We further see from the example of this legend that when the docket represents a mere name, without any descriptive expression, that name belongs to the owner of the property which is sold, and not to the buyer.

## No. 9.

The inscription on this tablet refers to the disposal of a considerable property, consisting of lands, houses, gardens, orchards, &c., &c., on a six years' lease, and at a rent of one mina of silver per annum, the lessee being the same *Zikkullanu* whose name occurs on tablet No. 4.

The Phœnician docket is mutilated, the commencement of the legend, which reads דנת חקלא, *danat khagila*, "the sale of land," being alone legible. חקלא here answers to the Cuneiform 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the Turanian term for 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *eqil*,<sup>46</sup> as in No. 5, and the only uncertainty is whether the 𐎶, which is the last letter visible on the broken tablet, may belong to the preceding word (as in the Aramaic form of אכתא for אכח), or whether it may be the initial letter of another word. As the Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *bit*, "a house," however, immediately follows 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, in the list of properties on the tablet, for which it would be difficult to find a correspondent beginning with 𐎶, I propose to compare the Phœnician word directly with its Chaldee correspondent חקלא, regarding the orthography as more correct than the imperfect reading of חקל, in No. 5. The Hebrew grammarians Gesenius, Schinler, &c., are all agreed that the word חקל, signifying "a field" in Chaldee, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic, is formed by

besides being immediately cognate with דין; in so much so, that in one list 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶 are bracketed together, the former being explained by 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *dinu*, and the latter by 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *ddnu*; and in the epithets of the gods, the two signs seem to be used indifferently.

<sup>46</sup> In continuation of note 41, on the reading and signification of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, I may also draw attention to the errors which Mons. Oppert and Mr. Fox Talbot have committed in their translation of the inscription on Michaux's stone, owing to their ignorance of this term. Mons. Oppert translates the word uniformly by "table," and supposes it to refer to the engraved stone which he is discussing. Mr. Talbot writes *hatzib* and *atsib*, and compares the roots עזב and חזב, translating sometimes by "figure" and sometimes by "sculpture." (In the Sargon Inscription he read *asib* "inhabiting.") The word 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, however, throughout the inscription in question refers to the "land" settled upon the devisor's daughter, according to the terms of the deed; and it must be read *eqil* (for חקל), as already explained.

metathesis from the root חלק, "to divide," or "portion out," but the Assyrian *eqil* or *ekil* seems rather to suggest a connection with אכל, "food or grain," from אכל, "to eat," given in Cuneiform as  $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎶}$ ,<sup>47</sup> and it is doubtful, moreover, if חלק, in the sense of "portioning out land," was known to the Assyrian.

## No. 10.

I include this legend, which has been often published and commented on, because it occurs on a clay tablet, evidently of the same class as those from which I have copied the other bilingual readings. The original tablet was brought to Europe, as it would seem, by Ker Porter, and, according to Gesenius, should be now in the Paris Museum (See Ges. Mon. Phœn. vol. i. p. 462), though, if it be there, it is strange that the bilingual reading it exhibits should not have been already turned to account by the Assyrian scholars of that city.

The legend may be read with certainty as בית אלדלני, *Beiat El-idil-ani*, and I should expect to find in the corresponding Cuneiform text the registry of a debt due by a man named  $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶}$ , which is a common Assyrian name, in the same way as in No. 12, which will be presently examined, we have an allusion to the *beiat* or debt of *Manukî Arba-il*. At any rate, whatever may be the meaning of בית, it is pretty certain that the next word is a *bonâ fide* Assyrian name, formed according to the usual construction, and probably signifying "God is just to him." It would be very interesting to examine the Cuneiform text, both in order to verify the application of the word *beiat*, and which is more important, to ascertain if the Phœnician אל, at the commencement of the name, answers to the Cuneiform  $\rightarrow \text{𐎶}$ , which is "a God," in general, or whether, as I think more probable, it does not rather indicate some particular divinity, the Ηλ or Ἰλῶς, of the Greeks, and the  $\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶𐎶}$ , or  $\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow$ , of the inscriptions.<sup>48</sup> The

<sup>47</sup> The root אכל, however, is represented by an independent Accadian sign,  $\rightarrow \text{𐎶𐎶}$ , and the connexion of this term with  $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶}$ , in the conditions of lease, on the clay tablets, seems to be merely accidental, alluding to the enjoyment or possession of the land for a term of years.

<sup>48</sup> Cuneiform scholars have been usually content to name this god *Bel*, or Belus, not only because the sign  $\rightarrow \text{𐎶}$  has that phonetic power, but from his position as "the father of the gods," at the head of the Pantheon; but I



second element of the Phœnician name almost certainly represents the Cuneiform  $\gg\text{Y}$ , which, as a verbal noun, is often rendered







have myself always expressed doubt on the subject, and indeed, in my original Mythological Essay (Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 594) I adduced strong arguments to show that the god in question could not, at any rate, represent the Belus of later Babylonian history, as that deity was proved to correspond with the Merodach of the inscriptions. I had not, however, at that time, access to the evidence which now inclines me to identify  $\gg\text{Y}$  with Saturn, and to read his name as *Il* or *Ilm*. This evidence is briefly as follows, 1stly, the sign  $\gg\text{Y}$  simply means "old," being explained in the vocabularies by  $\gg\text{E}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ , *labir*, and  $\gg\text{Y}$  is therefore "the old god."

Now, "the old god" is exactly the *بيل شيخ الوقار* of the Sabæans of Harran, as individualized by the famous *En-Nedem*, in the Fihrist (see Chwolsohn's *Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, vol. ii. p. 39); and this deity is directly identified with *زحل*, or "Saturn," in *Abu Rihan's* chapter on the Sabæans—a document, by-the-bye, of great value, and which ought certainly to have been incorporated in Chwolsohn's exhaustive work. 2ndly. The name which Damascius (see Cory's Fragments, p. 318) gives to the second member of the Babylonian triad, is *Ἰλλινος*; and as his other names, *Ἄνος* and *Ἄος*, exactly answer to  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$  and  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ , so this title of *Illin* should represent the god  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$  or  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ . 3rdly. In a trilingual list of mythological synonyms, the phonetic reading of  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ , *Elim*, is actually given for  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ , so that it seems highly probable the vernacular name of the god was *El* or *Il*, with an optional plural termination in *im* or *in*, "honoris causâ," as in *Elohim*.

However, it is also possible that *Bel* may have been used equally with *Il*, as the name of the god. It is certain, at any rate, that the group  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ , which simply means "the lord," as  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$  means "the lady," stands constantly for the generic noun *Bilu*, "a lord," in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar; and we further see that *Bil*, not *Il*, is the name in the Fihrist, to which the epithet "the grave old man,"










*شيوخ الوقار*, applies. Indeed, we have the authority of Damascius for using the two names indifferently—(ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον ἢ καὶ Βῆλ καὶ Βολάθην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Phot. Bib. Edit. Hæschel. col. 1050, where *Βολάθην* is perhaps *בַּעַל יָתֵן* for *בַּעַל יָתֵן*, with the usual change of the Hebrew *Shin* to the Aramaic *Tau*); and if the generality of authors identify Belus and Saturn (see Selden de Diis Syris., p. 155), Sanchoniathon, on the other hand, says distinctly ὁ Ἰλος τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος (Cory's Fragments, p. 13).





The identification which I formerly proposed of *Il* and *Ra* originated in a mistake. It is true that the Proto-Chaldean (or Accadian)  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$  is constantly replaced in the vocabularies and bilingual exercises by *Il* or *Ilu* (written either simply as  $\gg\text{Y}$ , or phonetically as  $\gg\text{E}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ ); amongst other examples compare the different orthographies of the name of Babylon;













phonetically by  , *idlu*, and probably, therefore, answers to a root corresponding with the Arabic عدل, while the termination *ani* can hardly be other than the Cuneiform  , or  , which is, I believe, a pronominal suffix.<sup>49</sup>

## No. 12.

The tablet to which this legend belongs is of the class which I have called double; that is, it is formed of two distinct tablets, very indifferently baked, and inclosed one within the other, the Cuneiform writing, with some very slight variations, being the same on both, and the Phœnician docket being on the outer casing only. The double tablets seem to relate uniformly to loans, instead of sales. In the present instance the Cuneiform writing, as far as

but in that case   is to be sounded *T'hingira* or *T'himira*, the sign  being the mere phonetic complement; and it represents not any particular deity, but the generic Turanian name for "god," connected on the one side with the Turkish *Tengri*, and on the other, perhaps, with the *Δημάρους* of Sanchoniathon, and the *تمورا* of Mesopotamian tradition (see Chwolsohn's Ssabier, vol. ii. p. 291). The title of lord— in Assyrian, i. e., *bilu*—was represented in some of the Proto-Chaldean dialects by *Mul* ( ) and in this form we see the origin of the *Μόλις* of Nicolaus (see Müller's Fragments, Hist. Græc., vol. iii. p. 361). Another name for Saturn, in what I suspect to have been a Scytho-Arian dialect of Chaldæa, was   , *Hubishega*, but I do not recognize the etymology. For numerous examples of the application to Saturn of the epithet "old," see Chwolsohn's Ssabier, vol. ii. p. 276.

<sup>49</sup> It is impossible to say whether the termination in *ani*, which is so very common in Assyrian names, be the Turanian suffix of the 3rd person singular, or the Semitic suffix of the 1st person. Either explanation is sufficiently applicable, though perhaps the evidence is rather in favour of the latter; for whilst I have never in one single instance found *ani* to interchange with *su*, I have, on the other hand, observed substitutions of the suffix which seem to point to the first person, as, for instance, in the common name of Nebo, which, as is well known, is usually written    , *Nabi-um*,

but for which I have also met with the reading of    , as if the signification were "my prophet" or "instructor," the termination in  being the Turanian suffix of the 1st person (cognate with  and , as in   and .  , for "with us" and "with me"). Observe, also, with regard to *idlu*, that the meaning seems to be "great" rather than "just," and that we may suppose, therefore, the Assyrian root *edal* to have corresponded with נדל rather than

عد.

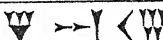
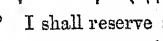
I understand it, states that "*Mannuki-Arba-il* had borrowed ten "silver shekels of the holy standard from *Billu-balat* (for a year), "on condition that the sum increased double (that is, at cent. per cent.);" and the corresponding Phœnician docket seems to be כנ (..) קרם בית (XX שקל) למננ-ארבל, "From Manugi-Arbil 20 holy shekels, a debt to be recovered" (?). In this rendering, however, there are many questionable points, both of orthography and grammar. It is quite certain that the Phœnician name at the commencement answers to the Cuneiform  $\text{𐤀} \ll \text{𐤁} \ll \text{𐤂} \ll \text{𐤃}$ , and the use of *Gimel* 𐤃 for the Cuneiform  $\text{𐤀} \ll \text{𐤁} \ll \text{𐤂}$  would seem to show that *Mannuki* must be a derivative from 𐤎𐤏 or 𐤎𐤏𐤕, instead of signifying "Who is like?" as Mr. Oppert has conjectured, comparing it with the Hebrew names Michael, Micah, Micaiah, &c.<sup>50</sup>

The two doubtful letters which commence the second line are, I suspect, numerals. They are something like the Palmyrene sign for 10, which is supposed to be a degraded form of *Yod*, the 10th letter of the alphabet; and may thus possibly represent 20, though in Palmyrene and in Numismatic Phœnician there was a special character for that number.<sup>51</sup> If this be so I would, then, suggest that the character which follows, and of which the top only can be traced, may be an arbitrary sign for a shekel of silver. At any rate, the second line of this legend ought, it would seem, to define the amount of *Mannuki-Arbil's* debt, subject, however, to the doubt as to whether the original loan of ten shekels might be noted, or whether the figures might refer to the sum, doubled in amount, that was to be recovered. After the number of shekels we have

<sup>50</sup> Les Inscriptions des Sargonides, p. 20. It is possible, however, that the use of the Phœnician 𐤃 may be a mere vulgarism, owing to the double power of the Cuneiform  $\text{𐤀} \ll \text{𐤁}$ , which was *gi* as well as *ki*, and that the etymology of *mannuki*, or *mannugi*, may be thus, after all, what Mons. Oppert has suggested. At any rate, neither the sense of "illuminating," from 𐤎𐤏, nor of "sacrificing," from 𐤎𐤏𐤕, will at all suit the many compound names of which the first element is  $\ll \text{𐤁} \ll \text{𐤂}$ . This term is prefixed, 1stly, to the names of the gods; 2ndly, to the names of cities; and 3rdly, to the names of relatives, and perhaps classes of men. There are, indeed, some twenty Assyrian names thus formed, and I can find no meaning more generally applicable than "who as?" or "what as?" (in the sense of "who, or what, is equal to?"), though such an explanation is not altogether satisfactory.

<sup>51</sup> See Gesenius Mon. Phœn., vol. i. p. 88. A further argument against reading these two letters as XX, is, that we see on the Lion Weights in the British Museum (No. 1) the ordinary horizontal line — employed for the numeral 10. Altogether it must be admitted that my proposed reading of this Phœnician line is most questionable.

clearly the word קדס, which may very well be the Assyrian form of קדש, adopted by the Phœnician scribe, with the same confusion of sibilants that we have before observed in many instances. The sacred standard, or "standard of the sanctuary," as we usually call it in referring to the Jewish weights, is indicated on these tablets by the name of the great goddess of Nineveh or Arbela; and it is that designation which here answers in the Cuneiform text to the *Kadas* of the Phœnician legend.<sup>52</sup> In continuation, we have a word בית, which is very difficult of explanation. Where the same word occurs on an Assyrian tablet, now in the Paris museum, Gesenius takes it for the ordinary Hebrew noun signifying "a house" (see Ges. Mon. Phœn. vol. i. p. 462); and the same explanation might possibly suit the present passage, the allusion being to the temple of the goddess in which the holy standard was used;<sup>53</sup> but I do not myself think that this is the true explanation of the term. I rather suspect that בית, *Beyat*, is a corrupted form of the Arabic بيعت, the root بيع, which originally applied, perhaps, to any "bargain," or "money dealing," having its exact equivalent in the Assyrian *Bukh*, which in this, and similar passages, appears in the phrase *ina bukhî ittisi*, "he borrowed on contract," or "on a bargain."<sup>54</sup> The last word of the Phœnician legend, of which the

<sup>52</sup> The phrase on this tablet relating to the standard is  , "of the goddess XV of Nineveh." I shall reserve a full examination of the different standards of weight which were current in Assyria for the continuation of this paper on the legal tablets; but I may here note that there seem to have been three distinct *mina* in common use -- the *manah* of the king, or "royal maund;" the *manah* of the great goddess of Nineveh and Arbela, or "the maund of the sanctuary;" both of these being native Assyrian weights; and the *manah* of Carchemish, which is the most constantly quoted of all. I believe that each of these maunds contained sixty shekels, but that there was a slight difference in their relation to each other. As for "the country maund," which has been assumed from the Phœnician legends on the Museum weights, I cannot think myself that there is any foundation for such a distinction. The expression ב וי ארקא, which is added to the declaration of the number of maunds, does not refer, as I believe, to a standard at all (in fact, the phrase is found in Nos. 2, 3, and 4, in addition to the definition of the royal standard), but is merely a geographical indication, intended to distinguish the weights of Syria and of Assyria. See further, under Note 63.

<sup>53</sup> I have sometimes thought that the whole legend might be read כא מננ-ארבל זי קדס בית -- *Li-Manugi-Arbel zi kadas bit...ka*, "of Manugi-Arbel, priest of the temple of...ka;" but there is nothing in the Cuneiform text to indicate that the borrower of the ten shekels, *Mannuki-Arbil*, had any connexion either with the great goddess or her temple.

<sup>54</sup> *Bukha* (כח < כח) may very well stand for بيع, the change of vowels being perfectly regular, and the guttural, *kh*, being a common substitute for the *Ain*, ע; but I am not so sure that it is allowable to suppose the

final כַּא is alone legible, may then, perhaps, be some verbal form (either from לָקַח, or some kindred root), and the entire docket may be translated, as I have already suggested, "from *Manugi-Arbil* 20 holy shekels his debt (or contract) to be taken."

## No. 13.

This legend is a mere fragment, giving the name, probably, of the party executing the deed. The Cuneiform original of the name, however, is not preserved, nor, indeed, is the tablet sufficiently perfect to enable us to ascertain the purport of the inscription. We can only infer, from the shape of the broken tablet and the few lines of writing which remain, that the document does not belong to the ordinary class of legal transfers of property; it is rather, as I think, of a sacred character.

The Phœnician name may be read with tolerable certainty as נְבוֹשָׁלִים, which exactly answers to the Cuneiform 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *Nabu-shallim*, signifying "Nebo (is my) preserver;" and an imperfect word follows which commences with 𐎶.<sup>55</sup>

## No. 14.

This is an important legend, as the Phœnician writing is very clearly marked on the tablet, and the Cuneiform names, both of the sellers and buyer of the property, are given with perfect distinctness. The Cuneiform writing recites the particulars of the purchase of a house in Nineveh for half a mina of silver, by *Kukullai*, from its owners, 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *Paqa-ana-Arba-il*, and 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; and as the Phœnician legend is without any prefix, it must be held (as in No. 8) to represent the names of these sellers. The first Phœnician name, also, פָּקָא־אַרְבַּיִל, *Paqa-Arba-il*, does thus represent, as nearly as possible, the first Cuneiform name, the only variety being that the particle *ana* is left out, and that by the introduction of a penultimate *yod*, the full orthography is perhaps given of *Arba-il*,<sup>56</sup> for the town of Arbela, instead of the contracted

lapse of this radical letter in order to obtain the Phœnician form of בֵּית. In favour of the assimilation I can only refer to No. 10, and point out that in that legend, at any rate, the word *beiat*, preceding a proper name, is apparently of the same class as *danat* and *shakhat*; and that *Beth* or *Beit*, "a house," offers, therefore, a very insufficient explanation.

<sup>55</sup> Dr. Levy, I find, has already recognized this reading in his *Phönizische Studien*, part ii. p. 24.

<sup>56</sup> The penultimate letter in this name would seem, however, to be a *Vau*, 𐎶,



form of *Arbil*, as in Nos. 1 and 12. The only real difficulty in this bilingual legend relates to the second word, which is given in Phœnician as *סר'אש*, and if it be a proper name, must answer to the Cuneiform  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . Now, the first question to be asked is, do these two forms really correspond? and to this I am unable to give a positive answer. On the one hand, it may seem strange that the junior partner in a property should be named in the docket, since, although entered as a matter of form in the actual conveyance at the head of the deed, he is passed over in the subsequent penalty clause as unimportant; but, on the other hand, there is no possible explanation that I can suggest for *סר'אש*, placed as it is on the margin of the tablet, immediately under the name of the principal owner, except that it represents the name of the second or joint owner. If this assimilation, then, be admitted, the sign  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  must have, amongst its many values, the power of *סר*, *sar*, and the vernacular name of the "great goddess," represented by the sign XV, must be positively *אש*, *Asha*. There is no other evidence, that I am aware of, connecting  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  with the sound of *sar* or *sir*, nor am I at all sure what may be the meaning of such a word prefixed to the name of a god. That the sign  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , however, equivalent in numbers to 15, does here represent the name of the great goddess, is rendered certain by the orthography employed on other tablets, where the same name is written with the determinative of a god,  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , between  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ .

With regard to the etymology of these names, I can only suggest for *Paga-ana Arba-il* the meaning of "go forth to Arbil," or perhaps "proclaim to Arbil" (*Paga* being imperative of *נפק*; compare *פיקי*, Dan. iii. 26); and for *Sir-Asha*, the possible meaning of "Slave of Asha," *Sir* being a contraction for *אסיר*, from *אסר*, "to bind;" but I admit that I have no other authority for the

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rather than a *god*, according to the numismatic Hebrew alphabet given by Gesenius (Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. pl. 3), and in that case we must suppose the name to have been pronounced *Arba-ul*, the same change of vowels taking place as in *Ursalima* for Jerusalem, and *Shemrun* for *Samirin* (Samaria). Another instance of the substitution of the  $\text{𐎶}$  for the  $\text{𐎶}$  may be observed in the orthography of the Phœnician dual form *כונן* for *כנן* ("two maunds"), in the legend on the Lion Weight, No. 4, where, moreover, in the reading on the base, the exact form is used for the *Vau*, which we have in this transcript of the name of *Arba-il*.

employment of as a Turanian root, either with this sense or sound.<sup>57</sup>

## No. 15.

The tablet from which these names are copied is a mere fragment, of Babylonian origin, and probably dating from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. It seems to record a money contract very much in the same terms as were current in Assyria, but it furnishes no means of bilingual comparison. The names, indeed, preceded by the word שרת, as in No. 7, are those of independent witnesses, who were probably of Phœnician origin, and who thus preferred to

<sup>57</sup> Since writing this, I have lighted on a fragment of vocabulary amid the debris in the British Museum, which has suggested an explanation for the employment of as equivalent to סר. The Turanian root seems to have signified originally "to swell," and to have been thus equivalent to the Semitic roots נהר (Cun. ) and שרר (Cun. ). I have long been aware of the employment of the root in the first-named capacity, in representing the name of , which I always maintained to be identical with *Nabu-nahid*, or *Nabonidus*, in opposition to Dr. Hincks and Mons. Oppert (see my paper on the Orthography of some of the later Royal Names of Assyrian and Babylonian History, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1855); but this reading of for סראש is the first example that I have observed of the use of in a proper name for the alternative root שרר. The Hebrew שרר, it must be remembered, is cognate both with שרר and סר, so that the employment of the Phœnician ס need not surprise us. With regard to the pronunciation of the Accadian root , it would seem to have its normal power of *im* in the name , which is given by Abydenus as Ναβοννίδος, for *Nabu-imduk*; but in the vocabulary, where it is explained by , the Accadian column seems to have the reading of , *Mir* (and so the God of the air, , *i. e.*, "the glorious god," is named in Accadian , *Mir-mir*). I should propose now to read the name of as *Saru-Asha*, and to translate it "glory of *Asha*," as *Nabu-nahid*, or *Nabu-imduk*, is "Nebo the glorious." Cuneiform scholars are familiar with this employment of one Accadian sign to represent two or more Semitic roots, corresponding in sense, but entirely different in sound, as, for instance, for *ebas* and *bani*, "to do or make;" for *elad* and *bani*, "to beget;" for *sakan* and *sarak*, &c., &c.









be recorded in their vernacular characters. They occur at the end of the list of Babylonian witnesses, and being merely scratched on the hard clay, are altogether of too uncertain a character to be worth the trouble of analysis. After each of the names is the word 𐤒, which I suppose to be the feminine demonstrative pronoun answering to the Hebrew זאת, so that each line reads, "this is the attestation of . . . ."

Nos. 11 and 16.

It will be convenient to examine these two legends together, as the tablets to which they belong are of the same class, and the inscriptions help to explain and illustrate each other. It would seem that grain assignments<sup>58</sup> were issued in Assyria on a particular shield-shaped piece of baked clay, quite different from the ordinary flat or bulging tablet, on which were registered deeds of sale, loans, and contracts. At any rate, most of the documents of this class that I have found are recorded upon such triangular bits of clay, which were, moreover, evidently intended to be suspended, as a hole is passed through them at the upper corners, for the insertion of a string. There are only two of these triangular tablets in the Museum which bear Phœnician characters, and of these, the one that is perfect has no corresponding Cuneiform, while of the second, which had a Phœnician text on one side, and a Cuneiform text on the other, but one small corner remains. The longer inscription, No. 16, is divided into two portions; the first portion, consisting of two lines, is, as I think, a simple date, recorded in the usual Assyrian fashion, "The 5th of Khaziran, in the Eponymy of *Saru Nerig*;" but this rendering is not, it must be owned, perfectly clear. In the first place, the number 5 would seem to be given twice over; that is, before the name of the month, under the technical form of the letter 𐤔, as in No. 2; and after the name of the month, under the ruder figure of five separate strokes; and again, the name of Khaziran is spelt with a *Tsadi*, 𐤕, instead of the *Zain*, 𐤕, which is now used both in Syriac and Arabic.<sup>59</sup> The


<sup>58</sup> It is perfectly in accordance with Eastern usage to issue assignments of grain in lieu of assessment upon the farmers and landed proprietors, these assignments being made payable to princes of the blood, or officers of the court, or other claimants on the government. The Tablets 11 and 16 are probably assignments of this nature, though it is possible they may be mere acknowledgments of a private liability.










<sup>59</sup> The derivation of *Khaziran* has never been at all satisfactorily explained; but the Phœnician orthography which is here employed suggests at once a

identification, however, of this name, חצרן, with the ninth month of the present Syrian calendar, is not, I think, to be questioned, and it is, thus, a source of great disappointment that we have not the Cuneiform correspondent; since we could with that aid decide positively whether the Assyrian year commenced at the vernal or autumnal equinox, and we should be thus able to attach a name to each of the twelve signs which represent the Assyrian months. I believe, myself, that *Khaziran*, which answers to *Sivan* in the Jewish calendar, was the third month of the Assyrian year, and was thus represented by the sign , because, firstly, I find that the assignments and sales of grain recorded on the tablets, are usually dated from the first three months of the calendar, namely, , , and , that is, during April, May, and June, which constitute the harvest season in Mesopotamia; and secondly, because the sign of the second month, , is also the sign for a Bull, answering to the Taurus of the zodiac, and the *Thuravahir* of the Persian calendar (where *Thura*<sup>60</sup> is probably the same word as *Taûp* and תור); but there is, on the other hand—that is, in favour of the year commencing with the autumnal equinox—the argument that *Tishrin*, which is the first month of the present Syrian calendar, is apparently derived from the verb שרא, “to begin;” while the sign , which represents the first Assyrian month, is used, perhaps, as a monogram for this same root, the equivalents of  and  being given in the Bilingual Syllabary, No. 256.<sup>61</sup> In continuation, it is of much interest to

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connexion with the root חצר or خضر, “to be green,” precisely as the preceding month was named *Ziv* and *Ayar*, from the “brightness” and “beauty” of the spring flowers. See Gesenius, in voce, זי.

<sup>60</sup> Compare line 56 of the Babylonian text of the Behistun Ins. with col. 2, ls. 61 and 62, of the Persian text. Mons. Oppert, however, translates *Thuravahar* simply “le printemps” (Exped. en Mesopot. p. 225), and takes no notice of its connexion with the Assyrian .

<sup>61</sup> It is quite possible, however, that   , given as an equivalent of , may not answer to שרא, “to begin,” but may rather correspond with שאר, “to swell or exult,” which I have elsewhere shown to be also represented by ; for the general use of  is as a title of honour (“the noble,” or “the glorious”), and it is thus equally applicable to a “noble” building or “tower,” as in the name of Borsippa (“the tower of the ruler”), or to a “noble” king (*Parakku*, the Semitic equivalent of  being synonymous with  , *sarru*), or to a class of

find the Phœnician word **לם**, answering to the Cuneiform **𐎠- 𐎡**, or **𐎠- 𐎡**, and applied to the office of naming the year, or, as it is now generally called by Assyrian scholars, "the office of Eponym." With regard to the meaning of the word, I adhere to my proposed derivation from **למה**, "to be near," considering the title to be equivalent to the modern term **مقرب**, *Mukarrib*, in preference to Dr. Hincks's explanation of "seer," which he conjectures to have been given from the officer in question being required to *see* the new moon, and thus regulate the calendar.

With regard to the name of the Eponym, I confess to some uncertainty. *Saru-Nerig* would be a perfectly legitimate compound, formed like *Saru-Ashu* (No. 14), and signifying "the glory of Nergal;" but no such title as **𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡** is found in the Canon, or in the supplementary list of Eponyms that I have collected from the dated tablets; nor am I at all sure as to the correct reading of the first element of the name, the initial letter, which I have given as **𐎠**, being scarcely legible, and the second letter being perhaps a **𐎡**, instead of a **𐎠**, for the two characters are hardly distinguishable in the ancient Phœnician. That *Nerig*, however, is the second element, I think almost certain, and I am thus led to suppose the corruption of the genuine form *Ner-gal*, which we perceive in the *Ἀβερνήτης* of Josephus, and in the *Nerig* of the Mendæan books, to be of very ancient date.<sup>62</sup>

We now come to the essential part of the inscription, where we are much assisted by the bilingual fragment No. 11. I read **𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡**, *Seoran zi bar Malká*, "the barley of the son of the king;" and I compare No. 11, where the Phœnician text seems to have been identical, and where the Cuneiform has **𐎠 - - - -**

**𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡**. The sign **𐎡** can be shown, from a multitude of examples, to be a determinative of cereals, but I have never found any direct proof as to the distinction of the different sorts of grain, nor, indeed, am I able to give with any certainty the phonetic reading of **𐎡 𐎡**, **𐎡 𐎡 𐎡 𐎡**, and **𐎡 𐎡**, though I believe the two first groups to be equivalent to the Hebrew words **חטים** and **שעורים**, signifying "wheat" and "barley;"

divine beings (**𐎠 𐎡** being also a special name for the "spirits" of the earth).

<sup>62</sup> For a full discussion of the name and character of the Assyrian god, *Ner-gal*, or Mars, see my Essay on the Babylonian Mythology, Sect. xi. (Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 631).

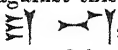







and the third group, which occurs very frequently on the tablets, I suspect to represent "rice."

In fragment No. 11, the prince's barley is to be furnished by two people—three *homers* by one, and two *homers* and a fraction by another; in all, five *homers* and a fraction. In No. 15 the levy is on a single person, *Nabu-irib-ani*, as I am inclined to read his name, and the amount to be furnished is stated at five City *Mans* and seven *Ephahs* (?). The Phœnician letters על נבירבן, indeed, are perfectly clear, and would seem to represent the Assyrian name 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which signifies “Nebo magnifies me,” though the omission of the final *Yod* is hardly regular; at any rate, whatever the exact Cuneiform orthography may be, the name is certainly that of the person upon whom the prince's barley is levied, and the amount to be delivered is given in the two last lines of the legend. These lines seem to me to read (VII) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (V) 𐎶𐎵, which I suppose to be “five *Mans* of the cities and seven *Ephahs*,” the City *Man* (or *mana iran*) being perhaps the same as the Carchemish Maund, so often quoted on the Museum tablets.<sup>63</sup>









<sup>63</sup> Dr. Levy has transcribed these words as מן עורן (Phoen. Stud. part ii. p. 22); but the second letter of the last word seems to me, on a further examination of the tablet, to be unmistakably a *yoâ*, and I adhere, therefore, to the reading of *mana iran*, though unable to explain the expression with any certainty. If I could be satisfied with Dr. Levy's explanation of the phrase ארקה ב' זי *Be zi arqâ*, which occurs on so many of the Lion weights in the British Museum, after the specification of the number of minas, as relating to a standard "of the country," comparing *arqâ* with the Chaldee ארקה (ארצה), then the expression here employed of *mana iran* for the city weight, as opposed to the country weight, would be quite intelligible; but there is no trace upon the tablets, where we have some hundred examples of a specification of weight, of any distinction between a city and a country standard; nor do I think that the corrupted form ארקה was ever substituted for ארצה until long after the age of these inscriptions. I suspect myself that the Phœnician *Arqâ* means Assyria—indeed, on one Lion weight, No. 9, ארקה is actually rendered in Cuneiform by 𐤠𐤏𐤍, the usual contraction for *Asshur*, but whether the term in question was a recognized Aramaic title, the original of the modern عراق (in which case the received Arab etymology must be rejected: see Journ. Asiatique for April, 1839, p. 298), or whether it was a mere local designation preserved in the Ἀρακηνή (for Ἀρακτηνή) of Strabo (lib. xvi. inunte), I will not hazard a conjecture.

There seem to have been three standards of weight commonly employed in Assyria—two domestic, and one of foreign origin. The domestic standards were based on the "royal" Maund and the "sacred" Maund. The foreign standard is indicated in the Cuneiform text by "the *manah* of Carchemish;" and this I conjecture to be the מנא of the present Phœnician legend, which may possibly have been in general use throughout the cities of Syria, and have thus been known to the Phœnicians by the collective term "the cities," and to the Assyrians by the name of that particular Syrian city with

The chief argument which occurs to me against this reading is, that in the Cuneiform the term of *Mana*, , is never applied to grain. Wheat and barley are measured by the  (which I suppose to be the *homer*, as it applies equally to land), and by fractional parts of the , which are given as , , and .<sup>64</sup> At any rate, whatever may be the standard employed, the five strokes in the last line but one indicate the number of the greater weight, and the seven strokes at the end the number of the lesser weight, which was represented by the initial letter ב, perhaps for בַּת, *Bath*, the equivalent of the *Ephah*, though applied by the Jews exclusively to the measure of liquids.

I now give the translation of Nos. 11 and 16. The Cuneiform text of the first tablet is as follows:—"3 *homers* upon . . . . ., "2 *homers* and a fraction upon . . . . .; in all, 5 *homers* and a "fraction of barley, to be delivered to the king's son, &c., &c." Of the corresponding Phœnician text the only words that remain are "Barley . . . . . son of the king . . . . . 5 . . . ." The full Phœnician inscription on the second tablet reads as follows:—"The 5th of the month Khaziran, *Saru-Nerig* being Eponym. "5 *Mans* and 7 *Ephahs* (city weight) of barley to be delivered by "Nebo-irib-an to the son of the king," (*lit.* "of the son of the king "upon Nebo-irib-an").

which they were more immediately connected. I observe, moreover, that there was a specific weight known to the Talmudists as the מונה כורינה (which was the eighth part of the מונה צורי, *Bava kama*, fol. 90, col. 2), so that we have sufficient authority for the idiom of the "city maund," though it is not likely that the older and later weight were the same.

<sup>64</sup> Upon the legal tablets land and grain are equally measured by the , and this measure appears to have been of 3 standards, which contained respectively 10, 9, and 8 subdivisions, denominated . There are no means of ascertaining the exact relation of these measures to our own, but it seems highly probable that the  was identical with the *Homer* or *Cor* of the Hebrews, and the  with the *Ephah* or *Bath*. It would also seem that with the Phœnicians the ב bore the same relation to the מן, as with the Assyrians, the  bore to the . I have no clue to the phonetic reading of the former, but  and , which in Syllabary No. 158, are identical, are both sometimes explained by *Lagit*, which I suppose to mean "a measure of capacity," being a cognate term with לָגַן, as a derivative from a root לָגַן or לָגַנ, "to measure."

I will only add that מן עירן may be here used as a compound word in the plural, the construction being literally "city maunds," instead of "maund of the cities;" for on the weights, wherever the noun is used singly, it is written מנה, *manah*.

## No. 17.

This inscription, the last, as well as the longest of the series, is, I think, too imperfect to be read. I have merely added it to the series of bilingual legends in order to complete the collection, and as an exercise for the ingenuity of bolder decipherers.

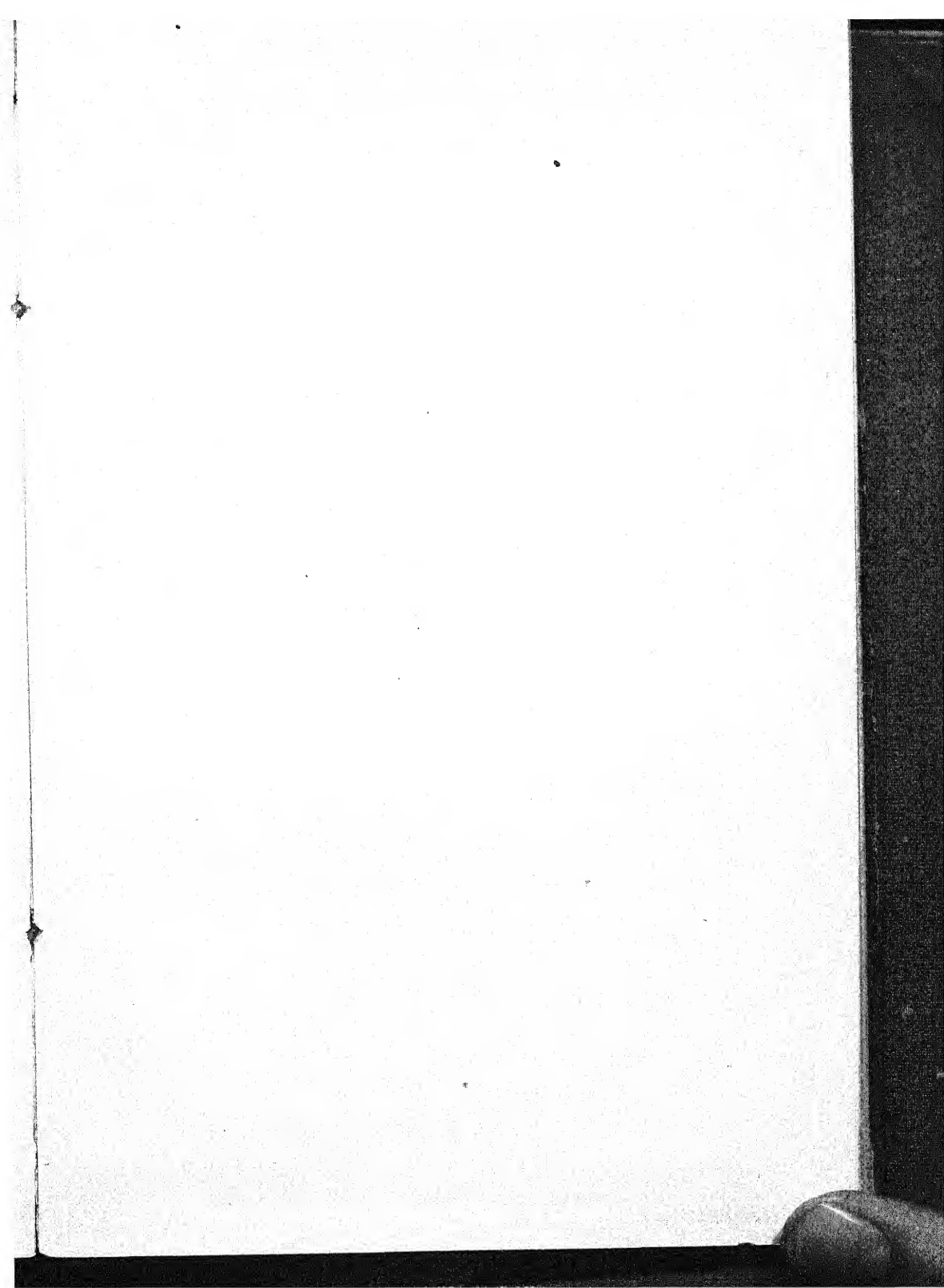
In continuation of these bilingual readings, I now propose to give a few Phœnician legends from bricks, gems, and pottery, which appear to represent Assyrian or Babylonian names and words, and are thus of some importance to the present inquiry.

## No. I.

On many of the Nebuchadnezzar bricks found at Babylon I have observed the word זבנך, written in bold and clearly-marked Phœnician characters. The forms of the letters so nearly correspond in all the specimens which I have examined, that the legend must, I think, have been impressed with a stamp; and in this case the word, or words, ought, it would seem, to have some meaning of general application. If, then, we read זבנך, *zebinak*, in one word, we might translate "for sale," deriving the term from the root זבן, "to buy;"<sup>1</sup> or, if we took the initial ז for the possessive pronoun י, we might understand, "of the builders," supposing *banak* to be the Babylonian form of בל, and remembering that it is often the custom in the East to assign a certain proportion of the material employed in building to the workmen. Several other explanations might be suggested, such as the name of an evil spirit (compare Arabic زينة), to be deprecated by this address,<sup>2</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> The great difficulty in this word is to explain the final guttural. If Semitic, it may be the suffix of the 2nd person singular; or possibly it may be an Accadian post-position, of which other examples occur. In illustration of the meaning "for sale," we may also remember that the word *eme*, "buy," has been found on many objects dug up at Pompeii.

<sup>2</sup> So at the present day, in most parts of the East builders keep up a low monotonous chaunt, interspersed with prayers, whilst at their work, which is supposed to have the effect of scaring away the evil spirits, who would otherwise render the edifice unlucky. There is indeed a very large admixture of superstition and "dablerie" in the daily observances of life in Persia and Turkey, which is quite unconnected with Mohamedanism, and must have descended, I think, as a heritage from the old Magian and Chaldean creeds.



*Phœnician legends on bricks, cylinders seals &c for the most  
part in the British Museum.*

I.	✱ 792	X.	47H
II.	1767197		847V47
III.	79A7////////		49 78484K
IV.	67797	XI.	99947
V.	7997K 999199 K797 999722 9977	XII.	91977
		XIII.	76077
		XIV.	744H77
		XV.	990799977 90997
VI.	77:7777 77>>7	XVI.	77777777 H7777
VII.	7477777	XVII.	W777
VIII.	7777777 7777777		7W77 7777
IX.	7777777 709W77 7777777 77777	XVIII.	7777777
		XIX.	7777777777
		XX.	7777777777



*Transcript in Hebrew Characters.*

I.	זבנך	X.	חתם
II.	נבתגל תז ?		פרשנרת
III.	כגרת . . . .		בר
IV.	הרתגל	XI.	אררתתן
V.	לאכדבן	XII.	למדבר
	ברגברר	XIII.	לסרגד
	סרסא	XIV.	לסעלי
	זי הקרב	XV.	לאחמה
	להרד		להדרקיע בר
VI.	דברכ(ת)בל		הרבעד
	סרסא	XVI.	לחנניה בן
VII.	לפלתחרן		וריסח
VIII.	לתמכאל	XVII.	לננש
	בן מלכס		לבשה
IX.	לעבדאלא		ברכת
	בן שבעת	XVIII.	לסראסר
	עבר מתת בן	XIX.	...ברת לבנן...
	צדקא	XX.	...משחקן....



the mere name of the brick-moulder ; but nothing can be ascertained with certainty.

## No. II.

On a brick of Neriglissar's, found at Babylon, the legend upon which I published in the British Museum Collection, Pl. 8, No. 5, there is another Phœnician inscription, not less difficult of explanation than the last. If the first five characters represent a name, they may possibly be read as **נבתגל**, *Nabu-tagil*, a kindred name with *Anu-taggil*, *Hur-tagil*, &c.. and signifying "attached to Nebo;" but the third and fourth characters are exceedingly doubtful, and perhaps resemble **גו** rather than **רג**. At any rate, they are too uncertain to furnish ground for etymological speculation ; and to add to our difficulty, the two concluding letters of the legend seem to be reversed. I have given for them the conjectural reading of **נת**, as in No. 15 of the bilingual series ; but neither do the forms of the letters suit particularly well, nor is the sense of "this" required, as it would seem, after a proper name.

## No. III.

On a minute fragment of a tablet in the British Museum I find the letters **כנרת** - - - - given as the end of a name, and I can hardly doubt, therefore, that the letters belong to the name of **מלך קרת**, *Melik Qart*, the *Melkarth*, or Hercules of the Phœnicians, which was preceded probably by a noun, like *Abed* or *Ardu*. The use of the Phœnician **ג**, instead of **ק**, in the word **קרת**, "a city," may be compared with the orthography of **מננ** for **מק** **מנ** **מק**, in No. 12. The Cuneiform equivalent for the Phœnician *Melkarth* has not yet been discovered, unless it be **𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵**, who was the Hercules of Assyria.

## No. IV.

On a cylinder seal of Babylonian workmanship which I examined at Baghdad, I found the Phœnician legend **הרתגל**, *Hur-tagal*. Now, this is certainly a Babylonian or Assyrian proper name, and the second element is easily identified as the word **𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵** or **𐎶𐎵** **𐎶𐎵**, "serving," or "attached to," which is so often found in composition with the name of a god ; but I am in some doubt as to the deity who bore the title of *Hur*



The peculiar form of *He*, 𐎶, which is used for the initial character of *Hur-taqal*, is precisely the same as that employed in the orthography of 𐤠𐤥𐤱𐤠 for 𐤠𐤥𐤱𐤠 = 𐤠𐤥𐤱𐤠 𐤠𐤥𐤱𐤠, in No. 2.

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *Mitra*, for मित्र or *Mithra*. Another compound monogram in the same list, which it is difficult to represent typographically, is explained by 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *Bisheba*; and this name I would compare with the Sanscrit विवस्वत्, who in Vedic mythology was actually "the Sun," though in Persian romance his solar character was transferred, as it is well known, to his son Yama, under the name of *Ymo-khshaeto* (or Jemshid), son of *Vivenghan*. That this latter title, also, was well known to the Semites, is shown by Ibn Wahshiya's famous book on Nabathæan agriculture, where *Yamu-shaed*, or Jemshid, appears under the form of *Yambu-shādih* (يبدو شان) as the name of one of the chief founders of the Babylonian religion, in allusion, no doubt, to the ante-Zoroastrian Monotheism of the Arians, which must have penetrated to the Tigris and Euphrates at a very early date, and was perhaps blended with the native Polytheism.

A further very curious illustration of the extent to which Arian etymologies governed the phonetic system of the Assyrians, is afforded by an examination of the name of the god Hercules. The name of this deity is usually expressed by the signs 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, which signify, as I now think, "the great or noble God,"

𐎶𐎶 having the double power of *bar* and *mas*, the former of which in this case must represent the Sans. बृह, Kurdish *farra*, Hind. *barra*, and the latter

the Sans. महा, Zend *maz*, Pers. مس. It is probable that both of these

phonetic names were applied to the god by different tribes or nations in Babylonia. He was certainly called *Mas*, as we have 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶

in one list given as an equivalent for 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (whence perhaps 𐎶𐎶, the son of Aram, Gen. x. 23), and therefore his title, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, was used

for one of the metals (iron?), in the same way perhaps as مس is used in modern Persian for "copper;" and so the sign 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, which was probably at first

the picture of "a fish," must also, I think, have had originally the phonetic power of *mas*, as it is only by that value that we can explain its representing, 1stly, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Heb. נון, "a fish;" in old Pers. ماس, from

मत्स्य (as in the *Gá-más-ab* river, so called from the figure of "a bull" and "fish," sculptured on the rock at its source); 2ndly, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,

H b. 𐎶𐎶; in old Pers. مس, from महा; and 3rdly, "copper;" Proto-

Chaldean 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *tamkabbar* (perhaps the original of ताव्र);

Assyr. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *siparru*; Accad. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *zabar*; Arab. صفر;

(but in Persian, as before observed, مس, now pronounced *mis*).


Whether the other Proto-Chaldean names of the gods, such as "*Gingir*,"









I read doubtfully as *Bereg-berud*, and suppose it to mean "Blessed of Berud," or "Berud blesses," comparing *Berud* either with the Scriptural בִּרְאֹדָךְ, for Merodach (2 Kings xx. 12),<sup>7</sup> or with the *Bar Nimre* of Harran, mentioned by St. James of Seruj (Asseman. Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 327), בִּרְד and נִמְר both signifying "spotted as a pard." *Bereg* for *Berek* will be the same corruption that we have already seen in מִנְנ for << א <| >= E. The Cuneiform sign, I may add, which represents the idea of "blessing," is <|, the Semitic equivalent roots being טֹב and בִּרְךְ, and it is thus impossible, when the letter <| is used alone, to distinguish its phonetic reading. In general, however, >||| < or -||| <, *ga* or *gi*, is added to <| to indicate the root טֹב; and <| >|| or <| >, *im* or *mu*, is added to indicate בִּרְךְ.<sup>8</sup> The next word, סֶרסָא, is, of course, the Hebrew סָרַס, from the root סָרַס, "to castrate." The Assyrian phonetic equivalent seems to be <| >||| <, *Kizir*, from קָצַר, "to cut off;" but I am still in doubt as to the Turanian monogram for "a eunuch." The fourth line seems to read *zi haqarib*. The relative זִי is certain, but I am not sure of *haqarib*, as the first letter, though resembling the He ה in הוֹשַׁע, the הֲרַתְנַל, is not quite identical. If *haqarib* be the true reading, we may suppose the word to be the Hiphel form of קָרַב, or the first letter may possibly be the Hebrew article. The last word of the inscription is apparently the name of a God, and I conjecture

<sup>7</sup> It is quite possible that the last element of this name may be בכר, instead of ברר; the second character, indeed, resembles a כ fully as much as a ר, and the *Daleth* and *Resh* are undistinguishable. The name *Buruy-bekur* (ברוי-בכר) might then mean "the splendour of the morning" (comp. Chaldee בארר, and Heb. בכר), but this is a mere conjecture.

8  is also used for *Birek*, "a knee," as well as for the root בִּרַךְ "to bless." Compare the Bilingual phrases :—

多 多。一 三 三 三 三 多 金 多。六。五 三 三 金 三	三 三 三 三。多 三 三 三 三 三 三。三 三 三。多 三 三 三
--	--

Where the Assyrian reads *allaka birkai*; *la anikha shepai*; "I have made my knees to move;" "I have not rested my feet;"   answering to *birkai*, "knees," and   to *shepai*, "feet."

ture the deity to be the 𐤠𐤠 of Scripture and Adad of Macrobius, though I know not his Assyrian representative.<sup>9</sup> The style of the legend is very similar to the formula which is generally found on Babylonian cylinder seals, and which merely records the name of the owner, the name of his father, and the name of his guardian deity. The only difference is that here we have the additional title of 𐤠𐤠𐤠, and that the periphrasis *zi haqarib li* is substituted for the ordinary single sign 𐤠𐤠, *ardu*, "the slave of."<sup>10</sup>

## No. VI.

This is a legend in Himyaritic characters, upon a Babylonian cylinder seal obtained by Captain F. Jones at Annah on the Euphrates, and now in the British Museum. It is included in the recent collection of Himyaritic inscriptions published by the British Museum, pl. xviii. No. 39, and has been read by Mr. Franks as 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠, *Dabrak bin 'Ar'á*. I should, however, propose, myself, to read 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠, *Di Barkat-Bil Sarsá*, "of Barkat-bil the Eunuch," comparing the legend with the Phœnician inscription No. V that has been just examined. At any rate it is quite clear that the initial 𐤠, answering to the Chaldee 𐤠, is used either as a preposition or a pronoun, to denote the ownership of the seal, this mode of expression being universal in all the cylinder and seal legends; and that the following word is a derivative of 𐤠𐤠, "to bless." With regard to the name itself, *Barak*, or *Barkat*, may possibly be used alone, and the following word may be the affiliative term *Bin* as regarded by Mr. Franks; but I should prefer to join the two words together in one name, which

<sup>9</sup> See Selden de Diis Syris, p. 102 seqq., for a full dissertation upon *Adad*, which, according to Macrobius, signified "one," and was a title of the sun's. Dr. Levy, as I have before observed, reads 𐤠𐤠 instead of 𐤠𐤠, comparing the Hebrew מֶלֶךְ (Jer. l. 2), but the first letter of the name seems to me to be a 𐤠 rather than a 𐤠, and the other two characters are to all appearance the same letter, whether that letter be a *Daleth* or *Resh*.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Levy can hardly be right, I think, in supposing that a eunuch was "Priest" of Merodach. Except in connexion with the rites of the "Mother of the Gods," I doubt, indeed, if eunuchs were ever admitted into the temples of Assyria and Babylonia. Whether the title derived from 𐤠𐤠 be *muqrib* or *haqarib*, it merely indicates "proximity," I think, in the sense of devotion; but there is no immediate correspondent in Assyrian with which the word can be compared. The Cuneiform sign for a priest (of Proto-Chaldean origin) was 𐤠𐤠, which was pronounced *Patesi* in Babylonian, and had probably another phonetic equivalent in Assyria.

would then be a compound signifying, perhaps, "the blessing of Bel." At any rate the last letter of the first line can hardly be a *Nun*. It resembles a Phœnician *Zain* more than anything else, but may perhaps be a *Lamed*.<sup>11</sup> Whether the two dots after ברך are merely a sign of division, or represent the Himyaritic *Tau*, is of no great consequence.

The reading of סרסא, "the Eunuch," for the last word may be thought very bold, but the first and third letters resemble no character of the known Himyaritic alphabet, and the only Semitic character in which that alphabet is deficient is the *Samech*; so that I venture to compare the word with the title of *Sarsá* used in the preceding legend, instead of adopting, with Mr. Franks, the wholly unintelligible patronymic of ערעא. Mr. Franks's hypothesis that the legend on this cylinder is of a much later date than the figures, seems to me to be altogether gratuitous. The figures, no doubt, are of good Babylonian workmanship, and can hardly be later than the sixth or seventh century, B.C.; but I know of no conclusive evidence against a similar antiquity for the Himyaritic character. On the contrary, this cylinder may be held, I think, to establish that antiquity; for not only is there every appearance from the arrangement of the figures and letters that the two engravings must have been executed at the same time, but the style of the legend is also of the Ante-Achæmenian period, and unsuited, as I think, to any later age.

#### No. VII.

The legend on this cylinder, which is in the British Museum, and comes from Babylon, has been often published (*Mém. de l'Inst.* tom. xvii. 1, pl. iii. No. 4, p. 353; and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 606), but has never been satisfactorily read. It appears to me, however, to be a regularly formed Assyrian name, פלתחדין, *Pilat-akh-idin*, "Pilat-gives-a-brother," of the same class as *Asshur-akh-idin* (or *Esar Haddon*), *Shamas-akh-idin*, and many others. The only difficulty regards the name of *Pilat*, which is not found under that form in the Assyrian Pantheon. Remembering, however, the constant confusion of the labials, I would suggest that

<sup>11</sup> The name of *Birket-Baal*, ברכת-בעל, is quoted by Dr. Levy from a Numidian inscription (*Phœn. Stud.* iii. 64). I should prefer, however, to read this name as *Birket-Baz*, if I could find any trace of the worship of a god named *Baz* by the Arameans or Arabs.

*Pilat* is for *Bilat*, 𐤁𐤋𐤏, the feminine of *Bil*, "a Lord," and equivalent to the Greek Βήλτις or Βήλθης, the same word occurring as the first element in the name of בלמשאצר, though the *Teth* is there substituted for the *Tau*.<sup>12</sup>

The other elements, *akh-idin*, require no comment.

### No. VIII.

The seal on which this legend is found is of the Phœnician, or perhaps Arabian, rather than the Assyrian type. The name is distinctly read as 𐤏𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤍, *Tamik-il bar Milkum*. *Tamik-il* means probably "God blesses," or "blest of God;" the root *damak* or *tamak* (for the two forms are hardly distinguishable in the inscriptions), giving rise to a vast number of derivatives in Assyrian, though it is unknown, I believe, in any of the kindred languages. The Turanian sign which represents this root is 𐤏𐤌𐤍, and among the derivatives (besides the immediate verbal forms) are the words signifying "good fortune" (𐤏𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤌𐤍, *tumki*, or 𐤏𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤌𐤍, *dunqi*), the common epithet of *damqât* ("the blessed places"), applied to the holy shrines of Babylonia, and various others terms of kindred meaning.

The name of 𐤏𐤌𐤍, *Malcam* or *Milcom*, though familiar to us from its frequent employment in Scriptures, is hardly Assyrian,

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Levy reads this name 𐤏𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏, and translates it "son of the morning," supposing *Pal* to be the Assyrian 𐤏𐤌, and comparing 𐤏𐤌𐤍 with the Hebrew שחר (Phœn. Stud. ii. 33). I know of no Assyrian names, however, formed like the Hebrew בן-אנוני, בנימין, בן-שחר, &c.; nor, I think, would the word for "a son" be pronounced *Pal* at the commencement of a name, but rather *ablu* (Cun. 𐤏𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤌𐤍); whilst the substitution of שחר for 𐤏𐤌𐤍 seems exceedingly far-fetched. *Pilat* is, I have little doubt, the name of some deity, but whether it may really stand for *Bilat*, as suggested in the text, or whether it may refer to the "Goddess of life," 𐤁𐤋𐤏. 𐤁𐤋𐤏𐤍, *Bilat-Tila*, where *Tila* answers to the Assyrian term *Balath* or *Palath* (comp. Hebrew root פלט or פלת, "to escape," or "survive"), or whether there may not be some other divine title pronounced *Pilat* or *Palat*, the Cuneiform correspondent of which has not yet been recognized, I cannot undertake to say.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Levy (Phœn. Stud. ii. 31) reads this name as *Themek-el*, "God supports," from the Hebrew root תמך, and perhaps this is a better derivation than from *damak*, "to bless," which, if it existed in Hebrew, would be expressed by דמק. I am not sure, however, that any such root as *tamak*, "to hold," or "support," is in use in Assyrian.



the termination in ם, being apparently the suffix of the third person plural, which was peculiar to the Hebrew and Arabic.

## No. IX.

The seal impressed with this legend, and which is now in the British Museum, is said to have been found in Ireland, a relic, it is supposed, of the old Phœnician colonists. It may be read אבד-אלא בן שבעת עבד מית בן זדקא. *Li Obed-e'lá bin Sheb'at obed Mitit bin Zidqá*, "belonging to Abdallah the son of Sheb'at, the slave of Mitinta, the son of Zadek." The names which are thus preserved are of some interest, and may be partially illustrated from the Assyrian. אלא, or *Ela*, would seem to be a particular divinity, different from the ordinary אל, *El* (Assyrian 𐎶, *Ilu*), which applies as a generic name to any God. It may, perhaps, be Cronos, the ΗΛ, or 'IΛos, of the Phœnicians, and the 𐎶 𐎵, or 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵, of the Assyrians, to which, as before observed, I would propose to give the phonetic value of *Ilin*, after the "Ιλινος of Damascius.

*Sheb'at*, again, is not otherwise known, I believe, as a proper name, but may be explained as applying to the "seven Planets." מית, is evidently the same as the Cuneiform 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (in the genitive), which occurs among the Syrian proper names in the wars both of Tiglath Pileser, and Sennacherib. It signifies merely "the gift (of the Gods)", and may be compared with the מתנתו of Scripture (Ezra. x. 43; Nehem. viii. 4, &c., &c.). And *Zidqá*, "the just," cognate with the Scriptural צדק and צדקיהו, is also met with in the inscriptions under the double form of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In the Sennacherib Annals (col. 2, l. 58), 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *Zidqá*, is mentioned as Governor of Ascalon; and the name again occurs under the form of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, among the witnesses (for the most part Syrians and Egyptians, as we may judge from the names 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, or Sesonchis, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, or Hormasis, &c.) to a deed of sale which was executed in Nineveh, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Sennacherib, by *Sharu-tib-dairi* (afterwards Governor of Zoan), *Atar-suru* and his wife *Amat-Sahala*, conveying their property in a certain house and its appurtenances to *Zil-Asshur*, the Egyptian law officer or judge. It is quite possible, and even probable, that these two *Zidqás* were the same person, for we find in the Annals that *Zidqá*, the refractory Governor of Ascalon, was removed early in the reign of Sennacherib

Although the owner of this seal was "a slave," he probably filled a position of trust, for there is abundant evidence in the legal tablets that "slaves," under the Assyrian Empire, were allowed to possess property, and were raised to high situations, much in the same way as has always been practised in Mahomedan countries.

## No. X.

The cylinder which bears this legend, and which is in the British Museum, is apparently of the Achæmenian period, and the etymology of the names leads to the same conclusion. The inscription may be read, I think, as *התם פרשנדת בר ארתדאן*, *Khotam Parshandat bar Artadatan*, "the seal of Parshandat, the son of Artadatan." *Parshandat* I should compare with the *פרשנדתא* of Esther ix. 7, "given to Parshan," supposing that name to refer to the *Bar-sam* or Hercules, of Armenian tradition, if that be really a genuine title and not a corruption, as has been recently suggested, of the Syrian *Bal-shamin*, "Lord of Heaven," or "the Sun."<sup>15</sup> The other name, "*Artadatan*," would seem to be of pure Persian etymology, being compiled of *Artā* the intensive prefix, and a verbal noun from the root *dā*, "to give;"<sup>16</sup> so that the meaning would be

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to Nineveh, and was replaced in his government by the very man, *Sharu-tib-dairi*, who sold his town house to the Egyptian judge, as he no longer probably required such a residence after his appointment to Syria. It is not, of course, in our power to determine if the *Zidqā* of the Sennacherib Annals can be identified with the man whose name occurs on this seal; but there is some colour lent to the hypothesis by the association of the names of *Mitinta* and *Zidqā* in the account of Sennacherib's Phœnician campaign, the former being Governor of Ashdod, while the latter ruled in Ascalon, and the two very possibly, therefore, standing in the relation of father and son, though the fact is nowhere stated.

<sup>15</sup> The subject of *Bar-Sam*, or *Βαρσαμίους*, is fully discussed in Sect. 9 of my Mythological Essay. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 623. Chwolson (*Die Ssabier*, vol. i. p. 373, &c.), connects *Bar-shamin* with *Bādī-shamin*, but perhaps the *Bar-shamin* of Mos. Chor. ii. 14, may be different from the deified hero, *Par-sham*, or *Bar-sham*, mentioned by the same author in lib. i. c. 14.

<sup>16</sup> The use of the participle *דָּתָא*, *dātā*, in these names, is proof positive that the seal cannot be of an earlier date than the Persian conquest of Babylon; and I may here note that the name of *בִּלְדָּד*, *Bildad*, in Job, a kindred compound, and signifying "Given to Bel," is equally decisive as to the age of that book. All the geographical and etymological evidence, indeed, which can be drawn from the book of Job, tends to assign it to the Achæmenian period, the land of *עֵיז* being the *אֵי זֵי* of the inscriptions

almost the same as the Zend, *Mazdā*, "the great giver." There is much difficulty, however, in distinguishing between the 𐤂 and the 𐤅 in this legend, and the letters which I have read as 𐤂 and 𐤅 are not quite satisfactorily determined.<sup>17</sup>

The legends numbered XI, XII, and XIV are found upon seals in the British Museum, and No. XIII is a name engraved on a Scarabæus in the same collection.

No. XI I Read as 𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤁𐤏, *Li Mudabir*, and I compare the name with the Arabic مَدَبِير, *Mudabbir*, "a Governor" or "Director" (from دَبَرَ, "to lead" or "guide"), which is often used as an honorary title.

No. XII may be read 𐤌𐤏𐤔𐤎𐤁, *Li Sar-gad*, the name being apparently of the same class as 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 or 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤔𐤎𐤁, which I have examined under No. 14. *Sar-gad* probably signifies "of glorious fortune," or "(his) fortune exults;" *Sar* being a derivative either from 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 or 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 as before explained, and *Gad*, being the Scriptural 𐤎𐤁 (Is. lxx. 11), which, however, although certainly used in Hebrew for "fortune," is not, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in the inscriptions.<sup>18</sup>

The name of 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏, which belonged to the owner of the Scarabæus, No. XIII, is probably cognate with the Hebrew 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏, *Saul*,

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(as 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 is 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏), between the Jebel-Shamar and the valley of the Euphrates, and thus extending from the Sabæans of Idumæa on the one side, to the Chaldeans of Southern Babylonia on the other; and the Shuhites and Temanites being the Babylonian tribes of 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏, *Sukhi*, and 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏, *Damunu*, who at the close of the Assyrian Empire were settled along the outskirts of the desert.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Levy (Phön. Stud. ii. 40) gives these names as 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 and 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏, *Artadati* and *Gadshirt*, but there is nothing in his remarks which seems to me to lend much weight to his proposed readings. I prefer, at any rate, regarding the first letter of the first name as a *Phe* rather than a *Gimel*, and the letter which is fourth in that name, and last in the second name, certainly resembles a *Nun* more than a *Jod*.

<sup>18</sup> It must be evident to any one who is familiar with the Assyrian inscriptions, and especially with the bilingual tablets, which treat to a great extent of demonology, that the celebrated verse in Isaiah (lxx. 11) where the authorized version renders 𐤌𐤎, "for that troop," and 𐤌𐤎𐤏, "unto that number," refers in reality to the "good and evil spirits" who were propitiated and



*Horus* forming the initial element in both the names ; but in this case no fitting etymology can be found, as it seems to me, for *daq'a*, the root דקע being unknown to any Semitic language. I prefer, therefore, reading the first name as *Hud raq'a*, "the glory of the firmament;" דר, for the Hebrew דור, being equivalent to the Proto-Chaldean 𐎣𐎶, which represents any derivative from the root נדר, "to swell," or "to be proud;" and the second element being the ordinary word רקיע, "the expanse of Heaven," or "the firmament." I would still, however, propose to read the second name as *Hur-b'ad*, "the slave of Horus," דר standing for the god of that name, and בעד being by metathesis for עבר, "a slave," and in substitution of the usual Phœnician contraction into בר, *Bod*.<sup>19</sup>

## No. XVI.

This legend occurs on a seal in the British Museum, which is believed to have been found in Babylonia. It seems to read ל חנניה בן ודיסח, *Li Khananiah bin Udisakh*. *Khananiah*, the Greek Ἀναίας ("whom God has graciously given"), is a well known Semitic name, though I believe it has never yet been recognized in a Phœnician inscription. 𐤋 𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤁𐤏 𐤅𐤃𐤍𐤏𐤕, *Khamunu*, for חנן, is used also in the Cuneiform inscriptions as the name of a

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Levy, I see, gives this same reading of *Hod-rakia* (Phön. Stud. ii. 30), but doubtfully; while he reads *Hod-bad* instead of *Hur-bad*, deriving the last element from the Heb. בעד, and translating the name by "Pracht ringsum," whatever that may mean.

Dr. Levy, also (Phön. Stud. ii. 38), gives another Phœnician legend from a plate of Lajard's (*Culte de Mithra* 36, No. 3), which furnishes us with a name, analogous to that of *Hod-rakia*. I have been unable to find in the British Museum collection the Scarabæus figured by Lajard, but the legend would seem to read ל חוד כספר, *Li Hud-kaspar*, and I should conjecture the name to mean "the glory of Caspar." It is true that we have no evidence in the inscriptions of such a phonetic name attaching to any of the gods, but in the Nedim's list there is a certain قسفر, which seems to be

𐤋 𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤁𐤏 𐤅𐤃𐤍𐤏𐤕, as he is called الخبير الكامل, "the omniscient," or "of complete intelligence," and this may possibly be the origin of the name of *Caspar* or *Gaspur*, which has been prevalent in the East from the earliest times. Dr. Levy reads the name "*Hudu, the Scribe*," supposing the stroke after the fifth letter to mark a division between the words, and regarding ספר as a title. The root ספר, "to write," however, was certainly unknown in Assyrian, and I should prefer, therefore, if Dr. Levy's division of the words were correct, to translate "the glory of Sippara," comparing ספר with the Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.



King of Gaza, contemporary with Sargon, though the root is rarely or ever employed in Assyrian phrases. Of the etymology of *ודיסח*, *Udisakh*, I cannot speak with any certainty, since it does not resemble either a Hebrew, or an Assyrian, compound. The first element, however, probably comes from *ידה*, "to praise," and the second may be allied with the Arabic *سلا* and Assyrian *𐎶𐎶𐎶*, the whole name signifying "the praise of the liberal."

## No. XVII.
















This legend is found on a seal in the British Museum, which is to all appearance of Babylonian manufacture. It may be read, I think, as *ל ננ ש לבשה ברכת*, *Li Nana-sha-labshahu-birkat*, and the name may be, perhaps, translated "whom Nana has clothed with blessings." The name, at any rate, of the goddess *Nana*, *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* in Cuneiform, *Navaia* in Greek, and *نانا*, *Nani*, in Syriac, is not to be mistaken, and the last word, of which the final letter is alone doubtful, is certainly a derivative from *ברך*, "to bless." What the other words may be is more uncertain. The *ש* which follows *Nana*, and completes the first line, may very well be the relative, which was extensively used in the Phœnician and Hebrew, as well as in the Assyrian (see Ges. Lex. *in voce*),<sup>20\*</sup> and the next word is assuredly a verb; but I know not whether the final *ה* be a mere feminine termination of the participle, or the suffix of the third person masculine singular (in Assyrian *𐎶* or *𐎶*), or the article which belongs to the following noun. This point, then, I leave to the consideration of more competent scholars. I have not met with any exact correspondent of the name in the inscriptions, but it is formed in near accordance with the principles of Assyrian construction.











## No. XVIII.

Gesenius gives the legend of *סראסר*, *Sar-asur*, from an Assyrian gem in the Museum of the Hague, and translates "Prin-






<sup>20</sup> It would seem, however, that *𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶*, *sakh*, and *𐎶𐎶𐎶*, *sukh*, are not Semitic, but Turanian roots, answering to the Assyrian *damik*, "to be fortunate," and allied, therefore, in all probability, with the old Persian word *سُخ*, *sukh*, "auspicious," rather than with the Arabic *سَخِي*, *sakhá*.

<sup>20\*</sup> Or the *ש* may be the characteristic of the Shaphel conjugation, *shalbash* being constantly used in the inscriptions for "clothing."

ceps Osiridis." I do not, however, exactly understand this phrase, nor do I think it at all probable that the worship of Osiris should be commemorated on an Assyrian seal. I should rather translate "the glory of Asshur," or "Asshur is glorious," supposing סראשר to be the Phœnician rendering of    $\rightarrow$    $\rightarrow$  ; and comparing the name with the compounds סראש (Cun.    ) and סרגר, which have been before examined. סר, indeed, will stand for שׂאר (that is,    , phonetic equivalent of ) as well as for שר; and we have an undoubted example of the substitution of אסר for the God Asshur ( $\rightarrow$    $\rightarrow$   or אשור) in the ordinary Scriptural orthography of אֶסְרָהֶדֶן for the name of Esar-Haddon, which in Assyrian is *Asshur-akh-iddina*, "Asshur has given a brother."

The legends XIX and XX are found on pieces of coarse pottery, fragments of a jar, which were excavated from the ruins of Nimrud, and are now in the British Museum. One fragment seems to read ברת לבנן, *Biret Libnan*, "within the Lebanon," the first word being the Cuneiform   or    $\rightarrow$    $\rightarrow$  ,<sup>21</sup> which has no immediate correspondent in the other Semitic languages, but is used like the Hebrew בֵּין and Arabic بَيْنَ, and the other being the well known geographical name which in the Inscriptions is usually written as    , *Libana*, answering to the Hebrew לְבָנוֹן. The other fragment reads as ---- משהקן ----, but I cannot venture on an explanation, as the words are probably imperfect, both at the commencement and the end.

Before concluding my notes on these tablet and seal legends, I would observe that they are among the most ancient specimens that we possess of Phœnician writing. I should select as the

<sup>21</sup> This is the same word which occurs in the Babylonian transcript at Behistun, line 8, as equivalent to the Persian *antara*, "within." Mons. Oppert is wrong (*Exp. en Mesopotamie*, liv. ii. p. 203) in identifying the letter , which occurs in the word in question, with either the Assyrian  or . The true equivalent in the Assyrian alphabet is , which, again, as has been often shown, interchanges with , and that letter, amongst its various powers, has the value of *rit*.



to me, have been scratched or incised by some foreign subordinate in the Registry Office.

At the same time, the Phœnician letters were certainly not altogether unknown to the learned Assyrians, for there are a considerable number of fragments of clay tablets among the Museum collection, which, when complete, must have borne tabulated lists of the Phœnician alphabet, and which, as far as can be ascertained from the mutilated remains now alone available for examination, gave some mystical explanation of the powers and properties of the different characters.

Through what means, or at what particular time, the Cuneiform character fell into disuse, and was superseded by a cursive square character of the Phœnician type, we are unable at present to define with any certainty. The latest dated tablets, however, belong to the reigns of Antiochus and Demetrius; and as a great political revolution occurred shortly afterwards, the Greek rule in Assyria and Babylonia being supplanted by the Parthian, we may probably assign to that epoch the extinction of Cuneiform writing.

A square character, it is true, must have been long previously known in Babylonia, through the coins of the Achæmenian Satraps, and it was from this character, probably, that the numismatic Bactrian took its rise in the third century B.C., but it may be doubted whether that form of writing ever fairly struck root in the country along the Tigris and Euphrates. The only specimens, at any rate, which now exist, are in a cave at Amadia, and upon the rock at Holwan; and at both places the inscriptions are found in connection with very early Parthian sculptures. It would be interesting, on many accounts, to trace the successive establishment of the various later forms of Semitic writing which took the place of the Cuneiform. The Palmyrene, the Parthian of the Bilingual tablets, the Chaldæan of the Babylonian Pateræ, the Pehlevi, the early Estranghelo, and the Sabæan of the leaden rolls from *Abu Shadhr*, are all more or less connected, and several of these alphabets were in use, no doubt, at the same time, in various parts of Assyria and Babylonia. A full comparative table of all such alphabets would be very important to the palæographer, while it would also assist the historical student in showing how the civilization of the Cuneiform period became modified and affected by the successive introduction of foreign influences, as evidenced by the modes of writing which severally accompanied them, until the heterogeneous mixture

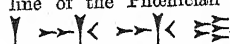

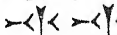
of ignorance and knowledge, of philosophy and superstition, of empiricism and science, which prevailed in Babylonia during the early ages of Christianity, was eventually swallowed up in the overwhelming energy of the Arab element, and the impetuosity of a new-born and proselytizing faith.

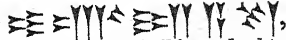
### ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note 4, page 190.—On a further comparison of the texts it seems almost certain that *tadan* or *tadani*—for both orthographies are employed—must be the 2nd person sing. of the Aorist of *Kal*, the root being probably *danah*, immediately cognate with *nadan* (as *נָתַן* in Hebrew is with *נָתַן*), and

being thus represented by the same Turanian ideograph, . These tablets, however, which contain "decrees," as it would seem, rather than mere contracts, addressed by the *Aba*, or "Judge," to the parties who come before him to legalize their conveyance of property, are very difficult to render in intelligible English, not only from the frequent employment of technical terms, but from the strange grammatical construction in which the conditions of sale and barter are expressed. The two words *tagabbi* and *tasatthiri*, which I have quoted from the decree of a certain princess, the daughter of the last king of Assyria, are probably the 2nd person sing. fem. of the Aorist of *Piel*, and hardly admit, therefore, of direct comparison with *tadani*.

Page 207, No. 5.—In reference to the possible comparison of the second line of the Phœnician legend on this tablet with the Cuneiform name

, it may be of importance to note that if the first element of that name be composed of a double *ti* ()—as appears to be the case—the phonetic reading will probably be *Igarát-nahid*, ,

being explained in the bilingual vocabularies by , as some part of "a ship." The Phœnician letters, then, which I have doubtfully read as *zarád*, may perhaps belong to this word *igarád* or *igarát*; and the second element of the name, *nahid*, may have been broken off from the tablet, which is here imperfect.



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of ignorance and knowledge, of philosophy and superstition, of empiricism and science, which prevailed in Babylonia during the early ages of Christianity, was eventually swallowed up in the overwhelming energy of the Arab element, and the impetuosity of a new-born and proselytizing faith.

### ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note 4, page 190.—On a further comparison of the texts it seems almost certain that *tadan* or *tadani*—for both orthographies are employed—must be the 2nd person sing. of the Aorist of Kal, the root being probably *danah*, immediately cognate with *nadan* (as נָתַן in Hebrew is with נָתַן), and

being thus represented by the same Turanian ideograph, . These tablets, however, which contain "decrees," as it would seem, rather than mere contracts, addressed by the *Aba*, or "Judge," to the parties who come before him to legalize their conveyance of property, are very difficult to render in intelligible English, not only from the frequent employment of technical terms, but from the strange grammatical construction in which the conditions of sale and barter are expressed. The two words *tagabbî* and *tasatthiri*, which I have quoted from the decree of a certain princess, the daughter of the last king of Assyria, are probably the 2nd person sing. fem. of the Aorist of Piel, and hardly admit, therefore, of direct comparison with *tadani*.

Page 207, No. 5.—In reference to the possible comparison of the second line of the Phœnician legend on this tablet with the Cuneiform name it may be of importance to note that if the first element of that name be composed of a double *ti* (><Y<)—as appears to be the case—the phonetic reading will probably be *Igarât-nahîd*, ><Y< ><Y<, being explained in the bilingual vocabularies by as some part of "a ship." The Phœnician letters, then, which I have doubtfully read as *zarâd*, may perhaps belong to this word *igarât* or *igarât*; and the second element of the name, *nahîd*, may have been broken off from the tablet, which is here imperfect.

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